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THE

THE
MISCELLANIES.

Lady's New-Year's Gift: or, Ad-
a daughter. Page 1

By the RIGHT HONOURABLE,

GEORGE SAVILLE,

MARQUIS of HALIFAX.

GLASGOW:
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THE CONTENTS.

I. The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or, Advice to a daughter. Page 1

II. The Character of a TRIMMER: his opinion of, 1. The laws and government. 2. Proteſtant religion. 3. The Papiſts. 4. Foreign affairs. 85

III. The Anatomy of an EQUIVALENT. 189

IV. A Letter to a DISSENTER. 235

V. Some Cautions offered to the conſideration of thoſe who are to chuſe members of Parliament. 261

VI. A Rough Draught of a New Model at ſea. 311

VII. Maxims of State. 335

VIII. A Letter to CHARLES COTTON, Eſq; upon his new tranſlation of Montaigne's Eſſays. 340

IX. A Character of the late Biſhop BURNET. 342

THE

LADY'S New-Year's GIFT:

OR,

ADVICE to a DAUGHTER.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I FIND, that even our moſt pleaſing thoughts will be unquiet; they will be in motion; and the mind can have no reſt whilſt it is poſſeſſed by a darling paſſion. You are at preſent the chief object of my care, as well as of my kindneſs; which ſometimes throweth me into viſions of your being happy in the world, that are better ſuited to my partial wiſhes, than to my reaſonable hopes for you. At other times, when my fears prevail, I ſhrink as if I was ſtruck, at the proſpect of danger to which a young woman muſt be expoſed. By how much the more lively, ſo much the more liable you are to be hurt; as the fineſt plants are the ſooneſt nipped by the froſt. Whilſt you are playing full of innocence, the ſpiteful world will bite, except you are guarded by your caution. Want of care, therefore, my dear child, is never to be excuſed; ſince, as to this world, it hath the ſame effect as want of virtue. Such an early ſprouting wit requireth ſo much the more to be ſheltered by ſome rules, like ſomething ſtrewed on tender flowers, to preſerve them from being blaſted. You muſt take it well to be pruned by ſo kind a hand as that of a father. There may be ſome bitterneſs in mere obedience: The natural love of liberty may help to make the commands of a parent harder to go down: Some inward reſiſtance there will be, where power and not choice maketh us move. But when a father layeth aſide his authority, and perſuadeth only by his kindneſs, you will never anſwer it to good-nature, if it hath not weight with you.

A great part of what is ſaid in the following diſcourſe may be above the preſent growth of your underſtanding; but that becoming every day taller, will in a little time reach up to it, ſo as to make it eaſy to you. I am willing to begin with you before your mind is quite formed, that being the time in which it is moſt capable of receiving a colour that will laſt when it is mixed with it. Few things are well learnt, but by early precepts: thoſe well infuſed, make them natural; and we are never ſure of retaining what is valuable, till by a continued habit we have made it a piece of us.

Whether my ſkill can draw the picture of a fine woman, may be a queſtion: but it can be none, That I have drawn that of a kind father: If you will take an exact copy, I will ſo far preſume upon my workmanſhip, as to undertake you ſhall not make an ill figure. Give me ſo much credit as to try, and I am ſure that neither your wiſhes nor mine ſhall be diſappointed by it.

RELIGION.

THE firſt thing to be conſidered, is religion. It muſt be the chief object of your thoughts, ſince it would be a vain thing to direct your behaviour in the world, and forget that which you are to have towards him who made it.

In a ſtrict ſenſe, it is the only thing neceſſary: you muſt take it into your mind, and from thence throw it into your heart, where you are to embrace it ſo cloſe, as never to loſe the poſſeſſion of it. But then it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the reality and the pretence.

Religion doth not conſiſt in believing the legend of the nurſery, where children with their milk are fed with the tales of witches, hobgoblins, prophecies, miracles. We ſuck in ſo greedily theſe early miſtakes, that our riper underſtanding hath much ado to cleanſe our minds from this kind of traſh: the ſtories are ſo entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them: which makes the diſcovery of the truth ſomewhat grievous, when it makes us loſe ſuch a field of impertinence, where we might have diverted ourſelves, beſides the throwing ſome ſhame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the world a jeſt, and imputing to God Almighty, that the province he aſſigneth to the devil, is to play at blind-man's-buff, and ſhew tricks with mankind; and is ſo far from being religion, that it is not ſenſe; and hath right only to be called that kind of devotion, of which ignorance is the undoubted mother, without competition or diſpute. Theſe miſtakes are therefore to be left off with your hang-ing-ſleeves; and you ought to be as much out of countenance to be found with them about you, as to be ſeen playing with babies at an age when other things are expected from you.

The next thing to be obſerved to you, is; That religion doth as little conſiſt in loud anſwers and devout convulſions at church, or praying in an extraordinary manner. Some ladies are ſo extreme ſtirring at church, that one would ſwear the worm in their conſcience made them ſo unquiet. Others will have ſuch a divided face between a devout goggle and an inviting glance, that the unnatural mixture maketh even the beſt looks to be at that time ridiculous. Theſe affected appearances are ever ſuſpected, like very ſtrong perfumes, which are generally thought no very good ſymptoms in thoſe that make uſe of them. Let your earneſtneſs, therefore, be reſerved for your cloſet, where you may have God Almighty to yourſelf: In public, be ſtill and calm, neither undecently careleſs, nor affected in the other extreme.

It is not true devotion, to put on an angry zeal againſt thoſe who may be of a differing perſuaſion. Partiality to ourſelves makes us often miſtake it for a duty, to fall hard upon others in that caſe; and being puſhed on by ſelf-conceit, we ſtrike without mercy, believing that the wounds we give are meritorious, and that we are fighting God Almighty's quarrel; when the truth is, we are only ſetting out ourſelves. Our devotion too often breaketh out into that ſhape, which moſt agreeth with our particular temper. The choleric grow into a hardened ſeverity againſt all who diſſent from them; ſnatch at all the texts of ſcripture that ſuit with their complexion; and becauſe God's wrath was ſometimes kindled, they conclude, that anger is a divine virtue; and are ſo far from imagining their ill-natured zeal requireth an apology, that they value themſelves upon it, and triumph in it. Others, whoſe nature is more credulous than ordinary, admit no bounds or meaſure to it; they grow as proud of extending their faith, as princes are of enlarging their dominions; not conſidering that our faith, like our ſtomach, is capable of being over-charged; and that as the laſt is deſtroyed by taking in more than it can digeſt, ſo our reaſon may be extinguiſhed by oppreſſing it with the weight of too many ſtrange things; eſpecially if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to ſwallow. The melancholy and the ſullen are apt to place a great part of their religion in dejected or ill-humoured looks, putting on an unſociable face, and declaiming againſt the innocent entertainments of life, with as much ſharpneſs as they could beſtow upon the greateſt crimes. This generally is only a vizard, there is ſeldom any thing real in it. No other thing is the better for being ſour; and it would be hard that religion ſhould be ſo, which is the beſt of things. In the mean time, it may be ſaid with truth, that this ſurly kind of devotion hath perhaps done little leſs hurt in the world, by frighting, than the moſt ſcandalous examples have done by infecting it.

Having told you, in theſe few inſtances, to which many more might be added, what is not true religion; it is time to deſcribe to you, what is ſo. The ordinary definitions of it are no more like it, than the common ſign-poſts are like the princes they would repreſent. The unſkilful dawbers in all ages have generally laid on ſuch ill colours, and drawn ſuch harſh lines, that the beauty of it is not eaſily to be diſcerned: they have put in all the forbidding features that can be thought of; and, in the firſt place, have made it an irreconcilable enemy to nature, when, in reality they are not only friends, but twins, born together at the ſame time; and it is doing violence to them both, to go about to have them ſeparated. Nothing is ſo kind and ſo inviting as true and unſophiſticated religion: inſtead of impoſing unneceſſary burdens upon our nature, it eaſeth us of the greater weight of our paſſions and miſtakes: inſtead of ſubduing us with rigor, it redeemeth us from the ſlavery we are in to ourſelves, who are the moſt ſevere maſters, whilſt we are under the uſurpation of our appetites let looſe and not reſtrained.

Religion is a chearful thing; ſo far from being always at cuffs with good-humour, that it is inſeparably united to it. Nothing unpleaſant belongs to it, though the ſpiritual cooks have done their unſkilful part to give an ill reliſh to it. A wiſe epicure would be religious for the ſake of pleaſure; good ſenſe is the foundation of both, and he is a bungler who aimeth at true luxury, but where they are joined.

Religion is exalted reaſon, refined and ſifted from the groſſer parts of it: it dwelleth in the upper region of the mind, and there are feweſt clouds or miſts to darken or offend it; it is both the foundation and the crown of all virtues: it is morality improved and raiſed to its height, by being carried nearer heaven, the only place where perfection reſideth. It cleanſeth the underſtanding, and bruſheth off the earth that hangeth about our ſouls. It doth not want the hopes and the terrors which are made uſe of to ſupport it; neither ought it to deſcend to the borrowing any argument out of itſelf, ſince there we may find every thing that ſhould invite us. If we were to be hired to religion, it is able to out-bid the corrupted world, with all it can offer to us, being ſo much the richer of the two, in every thing where reaſon is admitted to be a judge of the value.

Since this is ſo, it is worth your pains to make religion your choice, and not make uſe of it only as a refuge. There are ladies who finding by the too viſible decay of their good looks, that they can ſhine no more by that light, put on the varniſh of an affected devotion, to keep up ſome kind of figure in the world. They take ſanctuary in the church, when they are purſued by growing contempt, which will not be ſtopt, but followeth them to the altar. Such late penitence is only a diſguiſe for the tormenting grief of being no more handſom. That is the killing thought which draweth the ſighs and tears, that appear outwardly to be applied to a better end.

There are many who have an aguiſh devotion, hot and cold fits, long intermiſſions, and violent raptures. This unevenneſs is by all means to be avoided. Let your method be a ſteady courſe of good life, that may run like a ſmooth ſtream, and be a perpetual ſpring to furniſh to the continued exerciſe of virtue. Your devotion may be earneſt, but it muſt be unconſtrained, and like other duties, you muſt make it your pleaſure too, or elſe it will have very little efficacy. By this rule, you may beſt judge of your own heart. Whilſt thoſe duties are joys, it is an evidence of their being ſincere; but when they are a penance, it is a ſign that your nature maketh ſome reſiſtance; and whilſt that laſteth, you can never be entirely ſecure of yourſelf.

If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touched by the croſs accidents of life, your devotion is not of the right ſtandard, there is too much alloy in it. That which is right and unmixed, taketh away the ſting of every thing that would trouble you: it is like a healing balm, that extinguiſheth the ſharpneſs of the blood; ſo this ſofteneth and diſſolveth the anguiſh of the mind. A devout mind hath the privilege of being free from paſſions, as ſome climates are from all venomous kind of creatures. It will raiſe you above the little vexations to which others, for want of it, will be expoſed; and bring you to a temper, not of ſtupid indifference, but of ſuch a wiſe reſignation, that you may live in the world, ſo as it may hang about you like a looſe garment, and not tied too cloſe to you.

Take heed of running into that common error of applying God's judgments upon particular occaſions. Our weights and meaſures are not competent to make the diſtribution either of his mercy or his juſtice: he hath thrown a veil over theſe things, which makes it not only an impertinence, but a kind of ſacrilege, for us to give ſentence in them without his commiſſion.

As to your particular faith, keep to the religion that is grown up with you, both as it is the beſt in itſelf, and that the reaſon of ſtaying in it upon that ground is ſomewhat ſtronger for your ſex, than it will perhaps be allowed to be for ours; in reſpect that the voluminous enquiries into the truth, by reading, are leſs expected from you. The beſt of books will be direction enough to you not to change; and whilſt you are fixed and ſufficiently confirmed in your own mind, you will do beſt to keep vain doubts and ſcruples at ſuch a diſtance that they may give you no diſquiet.

Let me recommend you to a method of being rightly informed, which can never fail: it is in ſhort this: get underſtanding, and practiſe virtue. And if you are ſo bleſſed as to have thoſe for your ſhare, it is not ſurer that there is a God, than it is, that by him all neceſſary truths will be revealed to you.

HUSBAND.

THAT which challengeth the next place in your thoughts, is how to live with a husband. And though that is ſo large a word, that few rules can be fixed to it which are unchangeable, the methods being as various as the ſeveral tempers of men to which they muſt be ſuited; yet I cannot omit ſome general obſervations, which, with the help of your own, may the better direct you in the part of your life upon which your happineſs moſt dependeth.

It is one of the diſadvantages belonging to your ſex, that young women are ſeldom permitted to make their own choice; their friends care and experience are thought ſafer guides to them, than their own fancies; and their modeſty often forbiddeth them to refuſe when their parents recommend, though their inward conſent may not entirely go along with it. In this caſe, there remaineth nothing for them to do, but to endeavour to make that eaſy which falleth to their lot, and by a wiſe uſe of every thing they may diſlike in a husband, turn that by degrees to be very ſupportable, which, if neglected, might in time beget an averſion.

You muſt firſt lay it down for a foundation in general, That there is inequality in the ſexes, and that for the better oeconomy of the world, the men, who were to be the lawgivers, had the larger ſhare of reaſon beſtowed upon them; by which means your ſex is the better prepared for the compliance that is neceſſary for the better performance of thoſe duties which ſeem to be moſt properly aſſigned to it. This looks a little uncourtly at the firſt appearance; but upon examination it will be found, that nature is ſo far from being unjuſt to you, that ſhe is partial on your ſide. She hath made you ſuch large amends by other advantages, for the ſeeming injuſtice of the firſt diſtribution, that the right of complaining is come over to our ſex. You have it in your power not only to free yourſelves, but to ſubdue your maſters, and without violence throw both their natural and legal authority at your feet. We are made of differing tempers, that our defects may the better be mutually ſupplied: your ſex wanteth our reaſon for your conduct, and our ſtrength for your protection: ours wanteth your gentleneſs to ſoften, and to entertain us. The firſt part of our life is a good deal ſubjected to you in the nurſery, where you reign without competition, and by that means have the advantage of giving the firſt impreſſions. Afterwards you have ſtronger influences, which, well managed, have more force in your behalf, than all our privileges and juriſdictions can pretend to have againſt you. You have more ſtrength in your looks, than we have in our laws, and more power by your tears, than we have by our arguments.

It is true, that the laws of marriage run in a harſher ſtile towards your ſex: Obey is an ungenteel word, and leſs eaſy to be digeſted, by making ſuch an unkind diſtinction in the words of the contract, and ſo very unſuitable to the exceſs of good manners which generally goes before it. Beſides, the univerſality of the rule ſeemeth to be a grievance, and it appeareth reaſonable, that there might be an exemption for extraordinary women, from ordinary rules, to take away the juſt expectation that lieth againſt the falſe meaſure of general equality.

It may be alleged by the council retained by your ſex, that as there is, in all other laws, an appeal from the letter to the equity, in caſes that require it; it is as reaſonable, that ſome court of a larger juriſdiction might be erected, where ſome wives might reſort and plead ſpecially. And in ſuch inſtances where nature is ſo kind, as to raiſe them above the level of their own ſex, they might have relief, and obtain a mitigation, in their own particular, of a ſentence which was given generally againſt womankind. The cauſes of ſeparation are now ſo very courſe, that few are confident enough to buy their liberty at the price of having their modeſty ſo expoſed. And for diſparity of minds, which above all other things requireth a remedy, the laws have made no proviſion; ſo little refined are numbers of men, by whom they are compiled. This and a great deal more might be ſaid to give a colour to the complaint.

But the anſwer to it in ſhort is, That

the inſtitution of marriage is too ſacred to admit a liberty of objecting to it; that the ſuppoſition of yours being the weaker ſex, having without all doubt a good foundation, maketh it reaſonable to ſubject it to the maſculine dominion; that no rule can be ſo perfect, as not to admit ſome exceptions; but the law preſumeth there would be ſo few found in this caſe, who would have a ſufficient right to ſuch a privilege, that it is ſafer ſome injuſtice ſhould be connived at in a very few inſtances, than to break into an eſtabliſhment, upon which the order of human ſociety doth ſo much depend.

You are, therefore, to make your beſt of what is ſettled by law and cuſtom, and not vainly imagine, that it will be changed for your ſake. But that you may not be diſcouraged, as if you lay under the weight of an incurable grievance, you are to know, that by a wiſe and dextrous conduct, it will be in your power to relieve yourſelf from any thing that looketh like a diſadvantage in it. For your better direction, I will give a hint of the moſt ordinary cauſes of diſſatisfaction between man and wife, that you may be able by ſuch a warning to live ſo upon your guard, that when you ſhall be married, you may know how to cure your husband's miſtakes, and to prevent your own.

Firſt then, you are to conſider, you live in a time which hath rendered ſome kind of frailties ſo habitual, that they lay claim to large grains of allowance. The world in this is ſomewhat unequal, and our ſex ſeemeth to play the tyrant in diſtinguiſhing partially for ourſelves, by making that in the utmoſt degree criminal in the woman, which in a man paſſeth under a much gentler cenſure. The root and the excuſe of this injuſtice is the preſervation of families from any mixture which may bring a blemiſh to them: and whilſt the point of honour continues to be ſo placed, it ſeems unavoidable to give your ſex the greater ſhare of the penalty. But if in this it lieth under any diſadvantage; you are more than recompenſed, by having the honour of families in your keeping. The conſideration ſo great a truſt muſt give you, maketh full amends; and this power the world hath lodged in you, can hardly fail to reſtrain the ſeverity of an ill husband, and to improve the kindneſs and eſteem of a good one. This being ſo, remember, that next to the danger of committing the fault yourſelf, the greateſt is that of ſeeing it in your husband. Do not ſeem to look or hear that way: if he is a man of ſenſe, he will reclaim himſelf; the folly of it is of itſelf ſufficient to cure him; if he is not ſo, he will be provoked, but not reformed. To expoſtulate in theſe caſes, looketh like declaring war, and preparing repriſals: which to a thinking husband would be a dangerous reflection. Beſides, it is ſo coarſe a reaſon which will be aſſigned for a lady's too great warmth upon ſuch an occaſion, that modeſty no leſs than prudence ought to reſtrain her; ſince ſuch an undecent complaint makes a wife much more ridiculous, than the injury that provoketh her to it. But it is yet worſe and more unſkilful, to blaze it in the world, expecting it ſhould riſe up in arms to take her part: whereas ſhe will find it can have no other effect, than that ſhe will be ſerved up in all companies, as the reigning jeſt at that time; and will continue to be the common entertainment, till ſhe is reſcued by ſome newer folly that cometh upon the ſtage, and driveth her away from it. The impertinence of ſuch methods is ſo plain, that it doth not deſerve the pains of being laid open. Be aſſured, that in theſe caſes your diſcretion and ſilence will be the moſt prevailing reproof; an affected ignorance, which is ſeldom a virtue, is a great one here: and when your husband ſeeth how unwilling you are to be uneaſy, there is no ſtronger argument to perſuade him not to be unjuſt to you. Beſides, it will naturally make him more yielding in other things; and whether it be to cover or redeem his offence, you may have the good effects of it whilſt it laſteth, and all that while have the moſt reaſonable ground that can be, of preſuming ſuch a behaviour will at laſt entirely convert him. There is nothing ſo glorious to a wife, as a victory ſo gained: a man, ſo reclaimed, is for ever after ſubjected to her virtue; and her bearing for a time, is more than rewarded by a triumph that will continue as long as her life.

The next thing I will ſuppoſe, is, that your husband may love wine more than is convenient. It will be granted, that though there are vices of a deeper die, there are none that have greater deformity than this, when it is not reſtrained: but with all this, the ſame cuſtom, which is the more to be lamented for its being ſo general, ſhould make it leſs uneaſy to every one in particular who is to ſuffer by the effects of it: ſo that in the firſt place, it will be no new thing if you ſhould have a drunkard for your husband; and there is by too frequent examples evidence enough, that ſuch a thing may happen, and yet a wife may live too without being miſerable. Self-love dictateth aggravating words to every thing we feel; ruin and miſery are the terms we apply to whatever we do not like; forgetting the mixture allotted to us by the condition of human life, by which it is not intended we ſhould be quite exempt from trouble. It is fair if we can eſcape ſuch a degree of it as would oppreſs us, and enjoy ſo much of the pleaſant part as may leſſen the ill taſte of ſuch things as are unwelcome to us. Every thing hath two ſides, and for our own eaſe we ought to direct our thoughts to that which may be leaſt liable to exception. To fall upon the worſt ſide of a drunkard, giveth ſo unpleaſant a proſpect, that it is not poſſible to dwell upon it. Let us paſs then to the more favourable part, as far as a wife is concerned in it.

I am tempted to ſay (if the irregularity of the expreſſion could in ſtrictneſs be juſtified) that a wife is to thank God her husband hath faults. Mark the ſeeming paradox, my dear, for your own inſtruction, it being intended no further. A husband without faults is a dangerous obſerver; he hath an eye ſo piercing, and ſeeth every thing ſo plain, that it is expoſed to his full cenſure. And though I will not doubt but that your virtue will diſappoint the ſharpeſt enquiries; yet few women can bear the having all they ſay or do repreſented in the clear glaſs of an underſtanding without faults. Nothing ſoftneth the arrogance of our nature, like a mixture of ſome frailties. It is by them we are beſt told, that we muſt not ſtrike too hard upon others, becauſe we ourſelves do ſo often deſerve blows: they pull our rage by the ſleeve, and whiſper gentleneſs to us in our cenſures, even when they are rightly applied. The faults and paſſions of husbands bring them down to you, and make them content to live upon leſs unequal terms, than faultleſs men will be willing to ſtoop to; ſo haughty is mankind till humbled by common weakneſſes and defects, which in our corrupted ſtate contribute more towards the reconciling us to one another, than all the preceps of the philoſophers and divines. So that where the errors of our nature make amends for the diſadvantages of yours, it is more your part to make uſe of the benefit, than to quarrel at the fault.

Thus in caſe a drunken husband ſhould

fall to your ſhare, if you will be wiſe and patient, his wine ſhall be of your ſide; it will throw a veil over your miſtakes, and will ſet out and improve every thing you do, that he is pleaſed with. Others will like him leſs, and by that means he may perhaps like you the more. When after having dined too well, he is received at home without a ſtorm, or ſo much as a reproaching look, the wine will naturally work out all in kindneſs, which a wife muſt encourage, let it be wrapped up in never ſo much impertinence. On the other ſide, it would boil up into rage, if the miſtaken wife ſhould treat him roughly, like a certain thing called a kind ſhrew, than which the world, with all its plenty, cannot ſhew a more ſenſeleſs, ill-bred, forbidding creature. Conſider that where the man will give ſuch frequent intermiſſions of the uſe of his reaſon, the wife inſenſibly getteth a right of governing in the vacancy, and that raiſeth her character and credit in the family, to a higher pitch than perhaps could be done under a ſober husband, who never putteth himſelf into an incapacity of holding the reins. If theſe are not entire conſolations, at leaſt they are remedies to ſome degree. They cannot make drunkenneſs a virtue, nor a husband given to it a felicity; but you will do yourſelf no ill office in the endeavouring, by theſe means, to make the beſt of ſuch a lot, in caſe it ſhould happen to be yours; and by the help of a wiſe obſervation, to make that very ſupportable, which would otherwiſe be a load that would oppreſs you.

The next caſe I will put, is, that your husband may be choleric or ill-humoured. To this it may be ſaid, that paſſionate men generally make amends at the foot of the accompt. Such a man, if he is angry one day without any ſenſe, will the next day be as kind without any reaſon: ſo that by marking how the wheels of ſuch a man's head are uſed to move, you may eaſily bring over all his paſſions to your party. Inſtead of being ſtruck down by his thunder, you ſhall direct it where and upon whom you ſhall think it beſt applied. Thus are the ſtrongeſt poiſons turned to the beſt remedies; but then there muſt be art in it, and a ſkilful hand, elſe the leaſt bungling maketh it mortal. There is a great deal of nice care requiſite to deal with a man of this complexion. Choler proceedeth from pride, and maketh a man ſo partial to himſelf, that he ſwelleth againſt contradiction; and thinketh he is leſſened if he is oppoſed. You muſt in this caſe take heed of increaſing the ſtorm by an unwary word, or kindling the fire whilſt the wind is in a corner which may blow it in your face: you are dextrouſly to yield every thing till he beginneth to cool, and then by ſlow degrees you may riſe and gain upon him: your gentleneſs well timed, will, like a charm, diſpel his anger ill placed; a kind ſmile will reclaim, when a ſhrill pettiſh anſwer would provoke him; rather than fail upon ſuch occaſions, when other remedies are too weak, a little flattery may be admitted, which by being neceſſary, will ceaſe to be criminal.

a just remark

If ill-humour and ſullenneſs, and not open and ſudden heat is his diſeaſe, there is a way of treating that too, ſo as to make it a grievance to be endured. In order to it, you are firſt to know, that naturally good ſenſe hath a mixture of ſurly in it: and there being ſo much folly in the world, and for the moſt part ſo triumphant, it giveth frequent temptations to raiſe the ſpleen of men who think right. Therefore, that which may generally be called ill-humour, is not always a fault; it becometh one when either it is wrong applied, or that it is continued too long, when it is not ſo: for this reaſon, you muſt not too haſtily fix an ill name upon that which may perhaps not deſerve it; and though the caſe ſhould be, that your husband might too ſourly reſent any thing he diſliketh, it may ſo happen, that more blame ſhall belong to your miſtake, observe than to his ill-humour. If a husband behaveth himſelf ſometimes with an indifference that a wife may think offenſive, ſhe is in the wrong to put the worſt ſenſe upon it; if by any means it will admit a better. Some wives will call it ill-humour, if their husbands change their ſtile from that which they uſed whilſt they made their addreſſes to them: others will allow no intermiſſion or abatement in the expreſſions of kindneſs to them; not enough diſtinguiſhing times, and forgetting that it is impoſſible for men to keep themſelves up all their lives to the height of ſome extravagant moments: a man may at ſome times be leſs careful in little things, without any cold or diſobliging reaſon for it; as a wife may be too expecting in ſmaller matters, without drawing upon herſelf the inference of being unkind. And if your husband ſhould be really ſullen, and have ſuch frequent fits, as might take away the excuſe of it, it concerneth you to have an eye prepared to diſcern the firſt appearances of cloudy weather, and to watch when the fit goeth off, which ſeldom laſteth long, if it is let alone. But whilſt the mind is ſore, every thing galleth it, and that maketh it neceſſary to let the black humour begin to ſpend itſelf, before you come in and venture to undertake it.

If in the lottery of the world, you ſhould draw a covetous husband, I confeſs it will not make you proud of your good luck; yet even ſuch a one may be endured too, though there are few paſſions more untractable than that of avarice. You muſt firſt take care that your definition of avarice may not be a miſtake. You are to examine every circumſtance of your husband's fortune, and weigh the reaſon of every thing you expect from him, before you have right to pronounce that ſentence. The complaint is now ſo general againſt all husbands, that it giveth great ſuſpicion of its being often ill-grounded; it is impoſſible they ſhould all deſerve that cenſure, and therefore it is certain that it is many times miſapplied. He that ſpareth in every thing is an inexcuſable niggard; he that ſpareth in nothing is as inexcuſable a madman. The mean is, to ſpare in what is leaſt neceſſary, to lay out more liberally in what is moſt required in our ſeveral circumſtances. Yet this will not always ſatisfy. There are wives who are impatient of the rules of oeconomy, and are apt to call their husband's kindneſs in queſtion, if any other meaſure is put to their expence than of their own fancy. Be ſure to avoid this dangerous error, ſuch a partiality to yourſelf, which is ſo offenſive to an underſtanding man, that he will very ill bear a wife's giving herſelf ſuch an injurious preference to all the family, and whatever belongeth to it.

But to admit the worſt, and that your husband is really a cloſe-handed wretch; you muſt in this, as in other caſes, endeavour to make it leſs afflicting to you. And firſt, you muſt obſerve ſeaſonable hours of ſpeaking. When you offer any thing in oppoſition to this reigning humour, a third hand and a wiſe friend may often prevail more than you will be allowed to do in your own cauſe. Sometimes you are dexterouſly to go along with him in things, where you ſee that the niggardly part of his mind is moſt predominant, by which you will have the better opportunity of perſuading him in things where he may be more indifferent. Our paſſions are very unequal, and are apt to be raiſed or leſſened according as they work upon different objects; they are too to be ſtopped or reſtrained in thoſe things where our mind is more particularly engaged. In other matters they are more tractable, and will ſometimes give reaſon a hearing, and admit a fair diſpute. More than that, there are few men, even in this inſtance of avarice, ſo entirely abandoned to it, that at ſome hours, and upon ſome occaſions, will not forget their natures, and for that time turn prodigal. The ſame man who will grudge himſelf what is neceſſary, let his pride be raiſed, and he ſhall be profuſe; at another time his anger ſhall have the ſame effect; a fit of vanity, ambition, and ſometimes of kindneſs, ſhall open and enlarge his narrow mind; a doſe of wine will work upon this tough humour, and for the time diſſolve it. Your buſineſs muſt be, if this caſe happeneth, to watch theſe critical moments, and not let one of them ſlip without making your advantage of it; and a wife may be ſaid to want ſkill, if by this means ſhe is not able to ſecure herſelf, in a good meaſure, againſt the inconveniences this ſcurvy quality in a husband might bring upon her, except he ſhould be ſuch an incurable monſter, as I hope will never fall to your ſhare.

The laſt ſuppoſition I will make, is, That your husband ſhould be weak and incompetent to make uſe of the privileges that belong to him. It will be yielded, that ſuch a one leaveth room for a great many objections. But God almighty ſeldom ſendeth a grievance without a remedy, or at leaſt ſuch a mitigation as taketh away a great part of the ſting and the ſmart of it. To make ſuch a misfortune leſs heavy, you are firſt to bring to your obſervation, that a wife very often maketh a better figure, for her husband's making no great one: and there ſeemeth to be little reaſon, why the ſame lady that chuſeth a waiting-woman with worſe looks, may not be content with a husband with leſs wit; the argument being equal from the advantage of the compariſon. If you will be more aſhamed in ſome caſes, of ſuch a husband, you will be leſs afraid than you would perhaps be of a wiſe one. His unſeaſonable weakneſs may no doubt ſometimes grieve you, but then ſet againſt this, that it giveth you the dominion, if you will make the right uſe of it. It is next to his being dead, in which caſe the wife hath right to adminiſter; therefore, be ſure, if you have ſuch an idiot, that none, except yourſelf, may have the benefit of the forfeiture; ſuch a fool is a dangerous beaſt, if others have the keeping of him; and you muſt be very undexterous, if when your husband ſhall reſolve to be an aſs, you do not take care he may be your aſs. But you muſt go ſkilfully about it; and above all things, take heed of diſtinguiſhing in public, what kind of husband he is; your inward thoughts muſt not hinder the outward payment of the conſideration that is due to him: your ſlighting him in company, beſides that it would, to a diſcerning by-ſtander, give too great encouragement for the making nearer applications to you, is in itſelf ſuch an undecent way of aſſuming, that it may provoke the tame creature to break looſe, and to ſhew his dominion for his credit, which he was content to forget for his eaſe. In ſhort, the ſureſt and the moſt approved method will be, to do like a wiſe miniſter to an eaſy prince: firſt, give him the orders you afterwards receive from him.

With all this, that which you are to pray for, is a wiſe husband, one that by knowing how to be a maſter, for that very reaſon will not let you feel the weight of it; one whoſe authority is ſo ſoftened by his kindneſs, that giveth you eaſe without abriging your liberty; one that will return ſo much tenderneſs for your juſt eſteem of him, that you will never want power, though you will ſeldom care to uſe it. Such a husband is as much above all the other kinds of them, as a rational ſubjection to a prince, great in himſelf, is to be preferred before the diſquiet and uneaſineſs of unlimited liberty.

Before I leave this head, I muſt add a little concerning your behaviour to your husband's friends, which requireth the moſt refined part of your underſtanding to acquit yourſelf well of it. You are to ſtudy how to live with them with more care than you are to apply to any other part of your life; eſpecially at firſt, that you may not ſtumble at the firſt ſetting out. The family into which you are grafted will generally be apt to expect, that like a ſtranger in a foreign country, you ſhould conform to their methods, and not bring in a new model by your own authority. The friends in ſuch a caſe are tempted to riſe up in arms as againſt an unlawful invaſion; ſo that you are with the utmoſt caution to avoid the leaſt appearances of any thing of this kind. And that you may with leſs difficulty afterwards give your directions, be ſure at firſt to receive them from your husband's friends. Gain them to you by early applying to them, and they will be ſo ſatisfied, that as nothing is more thankful than pride when it is complied with, they will ſtrive which of them ſhall moſt recommend you; and when they have helped you to take root in your husband's good opinion, you will have leſs dependence upon theirs, though you muſt not neglect any reaſonable means of preſerving it. You are to conſider, that a man governed by his friends, is very eaſily inflamed by them; and that one who is not ſo, will yet for his own ſake expect to have them conſidered. It is eaſily improved to a point of honour in a husband, not to have his relations neglected; and nothing is more dangerous, than to raiſe an objection, which is grounded upon pride: it is the moſt ſtubborn and laſting paſſion we are ſubject to, and where it is the firſt cauſe of the war, it is very hard to make a ſecure peace. Your caution in this is of the laſt importance to you.

And that you may the better ſucceed in it, carry a ſtrict eye upon the impertinence of your ſervants; take heed that their ill-humour may not engage you to take exceptions, or their too much aſſuming, in ſmall matters, raiſe conſequences which may bring you under great diſadvantage. Remember that in the caſe of a royal bride, thoſe about her are generally ſo far ſuſpected to bring in a foreign intereſt, that in moſt countries they are inſenſibly reduced to a very ſmall number, and thoſe of ſo low a figure, that it does not admit the being jealous of them. In little, and in the proportion, this may be the caſe of every new-married woman, and therefore, it may be more adviſable for you, to gain the ſervants you find in a family, than to tie yourſelf too faſt to thoſe you carry into it.

You are not to overlook theſe ſmall reflections, becauſe they may appear low and inconſiderable; for it may be ſaid, that as the greateſt ſtreams are made up of the ſmall drops at the head of the ſprings from whence they are derived, ſo the greater circumſtances of your life will be in ſome degree directed by theſe ſeeming trifles, which, having the advantage of being the firſt acts of it, have a greater effect than ſingly in their own nature they could pretend to.

I will conclude this article with my advice, that you would as much as nature will give you leave, endeavour to forget the great indulgence you have found at home

After ſuch a gentle diſcipline as you have been under, every thing you diſlike will ſeem the harſher to you. The tenderneſs we have had for you, My dear, is of another nature, peculiar to kind parents, and differing from that which you will meet with firſt in any family into which you ſhall be tranſplanted; and yet they may be very kind too, and afford no juſtifiable reaſon to you to complain. You muſt not be frighted with the firſt appearances of a differing ſcene; for when you are uſed to it, you may like the houſe you go to, better than that you left; and your husband's kindneſs will have ſo much advantage of ours, that we ſhall yield up all competition, and as well as we love you, be very well contented to ſurrender to ſuch a rival.

HOUSE, FAMILY, and CHILDREN.

YOU muſt lay before you, My dear, that there are degrees of care to recommend yourſelf to the world in the ſeveral parts of your life. In many things, though the doing them well may raiſe your credit and eſteem, yet the omiſſion of them would draw no immediate reproach upon you: in others, where your duty is more particularly applied, the neglect of them is amongſt thoſe faults which are not forgiven, and will bring you under a cenſure, which will be much a heavier thing than the trouble you would avoid. Of this kind is the government of your houſe, family, and children; which ſince it is the province allotted to your ſex, and that the diſcharging it well will, for that reaſon, be expected from you, if you either deſert it out of lazineſs, or manage it ill for want of ſkill, inſtead of a help you will be an incumbrance to the family where you are placed.

I muſt tell you, that no reſpect is laſting, but that which is produced by our being in ſome degree uſeful to thoſe that pay it. Where that faileth, the homage and the reverence go along with it, and fly to others, where ſomething may be expected in exchange for them. And upon this principle, the reſpects even of the children and the ſervants will not ſtay with one that doth not think them worth their care; and the old houſe-keeper ſhall make a better figure in the family, than the lady with all her fine clothes, if ſhe wilfully relinquiſhes her title to the government. Therefore, take heed of carrying your good-breeding to ſuch a height, as to be good for nothing, and to be proud of it. Some think it hath a great air, to be above troubling their thoughts with ſuch ordinary things, as their houſe and family; others dare not admit cares, for fear they ſhould haſten wrinkles: miſtaken pride maketh ſome think they muſt keep themſelves up, and not deſcend to theſe duties, which do not ſeem enough refined for great ladies to be employed in; forgetting all this while, that it is more than the greateſt princes can do, at once to preſerve reſpect, and to neglect their buſineſs. No age ever erected altars to inſignificant gods; they had all ſome quality applied to them, to draw worſhip from mankind: this maketh it the more unreaſonable for a lady to expect to be conſidered, and at the ſame time reſolve not to deſerve it. Good looks alone will not do; they are not ſuch a laſting tenure, as to be relied upon; and if they ſhould ſtay longer than they uſually do, it will by no means be ſafe to depend upon them: for when time hath abated the violence of the firſt liking, and that the nap is a little worn off, though ſtill a good degree of kindneſs may remain, men recover their ſight, which before might be dazzled, and allow themſelves to object as well as to admire.

In ſuch a caſe, when a husband ſeeth an empty airy thing ſail up and down the houſe to no kind of purpoſe, and look as if ſhe came thither only to make a viſit: when he findeth that after her emptineſs hath been extreme buſy about ſome very ſenſeleſs thing, ſhe eats her breakfaſt half an hour before dinner, to be at greater liberty to afflict the company with her diſcourſe; then calleth for her coach, that ſhe may trouble her acquaintance, who are already cloied with her; and having ſome proper dialogues ready to diſplay her fooliſh eloquence at the top of the ſtairs, ſhe ſetteth out like a ſhip out of the harbour, laden with trifles, and cometh back with them; at her return, ſhe repeateth to her faithful waiting-woman, the triumphs of that day's impertinence; then wrapped up in flattery and clean linen, goeth to bed ſo ſatisfied, that it throweth her into pleaſant dreams of her own felicity: ſuch a one is ſeldom ſerious, but with her taylor; her children and family may now and then have a random thought, but ſhe never taketh aim but at ſomething very impertinent: I ſay, when a husband, whoſe province is without doors, and to whom the oeconomy of the houſe would be in ſome degree indecent, findeth no order nor quiet in his family, meeteth with complaints of all kinds ſpringing from this root; the miſtaken lady, who thinketh to make amends for all this, by having a well-choſen petticoat, will at laſt be convinced of her error, and with grief be forced to undergo the penalties that belong to thoſe who are wilfully inſignificant. When this ſcurvy hour cometh upon her, ſhe firſt groweth angry; then when the time of it is paſt, would perhaps grow wiſer, not remembering that we can no more have wiſdom than grace, whenever we think fit to call for it. There are times and periods fixed for both; and when they are too long neglected, the puniſhment is, that they are irrecoverable, and nothing remaineth but an uſeleſs grief for the folly of having thrown them out of our power. You are to think what a mean figure a woman maketh, when ſhe is ſo degraded by her own fault; whereas there is nothing in thoſe duties which are expected from you, that can be a leſſening to you, except your want of conduct makes it ſo. You may love your children, without living in the nurſery; and you may have a competent and diſcreet care of them without letting it break out upon the company, or expoſing yourſelf by turning your diſcourſe that way, which is a kind of laying children to the pariſh; and it can hardly be done any where, that thoſe who bear it, will be ſo forgiving, as not to think they are overcharged with them. A woman's tenderneſs to her children is one of the leaſt deceitful evidences of her virtue; but yet the way of expreſſing it muſt be ſubject to the rules of good-breeding: and though a woman of quality ought not to be leſs kind to them, than mothers of the meaneſt rank are to theirs, yet ſhe may diſtinguiſh herſelf in the manner, and avoid the coarſe methods, which in women of a lower ſize might be more excuſable. You muſt begin early to make them love you, that they may obey you. This mixture is no where more neceſſary than in children. And I muſt tell you, that you are not to expect returns of kindneſs from yours, if ever you have any, without grains of allowance; and yet it is not ſo much a defect in their good-nature, as a ſhortneſs of thought in them. Their firſt inſufficiency maketh them lean ſo intirely upon their parents for what is neceſſary, that the habit of it maketh them continue the ſame expectations for what is unreaſonable; and as often as they are denied, ſo often they think they are injured; and whilſt their deſires are ſtrong, and their reaſons yet in the cradle, their anger looketh no farther than the thing they long for, and cannot have; and to be diſpleaſed for their own good, is a maxim they are very ſlow to underſtand: ſo that you may conclude, the firſt thoughts of your children will have no ſmall mixture of mutiny; which being ſo natural, you muſt not be angry, except you would increaſe it. You muſt deny them as ſeldom as you can, and when there is no avoiding it, you muſt do it gently; you muſt flatter away their ill-humour, and take the next opportunity of pleaſing them in ſome other thing, before they either aſk or look for it: this will ſtrengthen your authority, by making it ſoft to them; and confirm their obedience, by making it their intereſt. You are to have as ſtrict a guard upon yourſelf amongſt your children, as if you were amongſt your enemies. They are apt to make wrong inferences, to take encouragement from half words, and miſapply what you may ſay or do, ſo as either to leſſen their duty, or to extend their liberty farther than is convenient. Let them be more in awe of your kindneſs, than of your power. And above all, take heed of ſupporting a favourite child in its impertinence, which will give right to the reſt of claiming the ſame privilege. If you have a divided number, leave the boys to the father's more peculiar care, that you may with the greater juſtice pretend to a more immediate juriſdiction over thoſe of your own ſex. You are to live ſo with them, that they may never chuſe to avoid you, except when they have offended; and then let them tremble, that they may diſtinguiſh; but their penance muſt not continue ſo long, as to grow too ſour upon their ſtomachs, that it may not harden inſtead of correcting them: the kind and ſevere part muſt have their ſeveral turns ſeaſonably applied; but your indulgence is to have the broader mixture, that love, rather than fear, may be the root of their obedience.

Your ſervants are, in the next place, to be conſidered: and you muſt remember not to fall into the miſtake of thinking, that becauſe they receive wages, and are ſo much inferior to you, therefore they are below your care to know how to manage them. It would be as good reaſon for a maſter-workman to deſpiſe the wheels of his engines, becauſe they are made of wood. Theſe are the wheels of your family; and let your directions be never ſo faultleſs, yet if theſe engines ſtop or move wrong, the whole order of your houſe is either at a ſtand, or diſcompoſed. Beſides, the inequality which is between you muſt not make you forget that nature maketh no ſuch diſtinction, but that ſervants may be looked upon as humble friends, and that returns of kindneſs and good uſage are as much due to ſuch of them as deſerve it, as their ſervice is due to us when we require it. A fooliſh haughtineſs in the ſtile of ſpeaking, or in the manner of commanding them, is in its ſelf very undecent; beſides that it begetteth an averſion in them, of which the leaſt ill effect to be expected, is, that they will be ſlow and careleſs in all that is enjoined them: and you will find it true by your experience, that you will be ſo much the more obeyed, as you are leſs imperious. Be not too haſty in giving your orders, nor too angry when they are not altogether obſerved; much leſs are you to be loud, and too much diſturbed: an evenneſs in diſtinguiſhing when they do well or ill, is that which will make your family move by a rule, and without noiſe, and will the better ſet out your ſkill in conducting it with eaſe and ſilence, that it may be like a well diſciplined army, which knoweth how to anticipate the orders that are fit to be given them. You are never to neglect the duty of the preſent hour to do another thing, which though it may be better in itſelf, is not to be unſeaſonably preferred. Allot well-choſen hours for the inſpection of your family, which may be ſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of your time, that the neceſſary cares may come in their proper place, without any influence upon your good humour, or interruption to other things. By theſe methods, you will put yourſelf in poſſeſſion of being valued by your ſervants, and then their obedience will naturally follow.

I muſt not forget one of the greateſt articles belonging to a family, which is the expence. It muſt not be ſuch, as by failing either in the time or meaſure of it, may rather draw cenſure than gain applauſe. If it was well examined, there is more money given to be laughed at, than for any one thing in the world, though the purchaſers do not think ſo. A well ſtated rule is like the line, when that is once paſſed, we are under another pole; ſo the firſt ſtraying from a rule, is a ſtep towards making that which was before a virtue, to change its nature, and to grow either into a vice, or at leaſt an impertinence. The art of laying out money wiſely, is not attained to without a great deal of thought; and it is yet more difficult in the caſe of a wife, who is accountable to her husband for her miſtakes in it. It is not only his money, his credit too is at ſtake, if what lieth under the wife's care is managed, either with undecent thrift, or too looſe profuſion. You are therefore to keep the mean between theſe two extremes; and it being hardly poſſible to hold the balance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the liberal ſide, as more ſuitable to your quality, and leſs ſubject to reproach. Of the two, a little money miſ-ſpent is ſooner recovered, than the credit which is loſt by having it unhandſomely ſaved; and a wiſe husband will leſs forgive a ſhameful piece of parſimony, than a little extravagance, if it be not too often repeated. His mind in this muſt be your chief direction; and his temper, when once known, will in great meaſure juſtify your part in the management, if he is pleaſed with it.

In your clothes avoid too much gaudy; do not value yourſelf upon an embroidered gown, and remember that a reaſonable word, or an obliging look, will gain you more reſpect than all your fine trappings. This is not ſaid to reſtrain you from a decent compliance with the world, provided you take the wiſer, and not the fooliſher part of your ſex for your pattern. Some diſtinctions are to be allowed, whilſt they are well ſuited to your quality and fortune; and in the diſtribution of the expence, it ſeemeth to me that a full attendance, and well choſen ornaments for your houſe, will make you a better figure, than too much glittering in what you wear, which may with more eaſe be imitated by thoſe that are below you. Yet this muſt not tempt you to ſtarve every thing, but your own apartment; or in order to more abundance there, give juſt cauſe to the leaſt ſervant you have, to complain of the want of what is neceſſary. Above all, fix it in your thoughts, as an unchangeable maxim, that nothing is truly fine but what is fit; and that juſt ſo much as is proper for your circumſtances of their ſeveral kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it. When you once break through theſe bounds, you launch into a wide ſea of extavagance. Every thing will become neceſſary, becauſe you have a mind to it; and you have a mind to it, not becauſe it is fit for you, but becauſe ſomebody elſe hath it. This lady's logic ſetteth reaſon upon its head, by carrying the rule from things to perſons, and appealing from what is right to every fool that is in the wrong. The word *neceſſary* is miſerably applied; it diſordereth families, and overturneth governments by being ſo abuſed. Remember, that children and fools want every thing, becauſe they want wit to diſtinguiſh; and therefore there is no ſtronger evidence of a crazy underſtanding, than the màking too large a catalogue of things neceſſary, when in truth there are ſo very few things that have a right to be placed in it. Try every thing firſt in your judgment, before you allow it a place in your deſire; elſe your husband may think it as neceſſary for him to deny, as it is for you to have whatever is unreaſonable; and if you ſhall too often give him that advantage, the habit of refuſing may perhaps reach to things that are not unfit for you.

There are unthinking ladies, who do not enough conſider how little their own figure agreeth with the fine things they are ſo proud of. Others, when they have them, will hardly allow them to be viſible; they cannot be ſeen without light, and that is many times ſo ſaucy and ſo prying, that, like a too forward gallant, it is to be forbid the chamber. Some, when you are uſhered into their dark ruelle, it is with ſuch ſolemnity, that a man would ſwear there was ſomething in it, till the unſkilful lady breaketh ſilence, and beginneth a chat, which diſcovereth it as a puppet-play with magnificent ſcenes. Many eſteem things rather as they are hard to be gotten, than that they are worth getting: this looketh as if they had an intereſt to purſue that maxim, becauſe a great part of their own value dependeth upon it. Truth, in theſe caſes, would be often unmannerly, and might derogate from the prerogative great ladies would aſſume to themſelves, of being diſtinct creatures from thoſe of their ſex which are inferior, and of leſs difficult acceſs.

In other things too, your condition muſt give the rule to you, and therefore, it is not a wife's part to aim at more than a bounded liberality; the farther extent of that quality (otherwiſe to be commended) belongeth to the husband, who hath better means for it. Generoſity, wrong placed, becometh a vice. It is no more a virtue, when it groweth into an inconvenience: virtues muſt be enlarged or reſtrained, according to differing circumſtances. A princely mind will undo a private family; therefore things muſt be ſuited, or elſe they will not deſerve to be commended, let them in themſelves be never ſo valuable: and the expectations of the world are beſt anſwered, when we acquit ourſelves in that manner which ſeemeth to be preſcribed to our ſeveral conditions, without uſurping upon thoſe duties, which do not ſo particularly belong to us.

I will cloſe the conſideration of this article of expence, with this ſhort word: do not fetter yourſelf with ſuch a reſtraint in it, as may make you remarkable; but remember that virtue is the greateſt ornament, and good ſenſe the beſt equipage.

BEHAVIOUR and CONVERSATION.

IT is time now to lead you out of your houſe into the world. A dangerous ſtep; where your virtue alone will not ſecure you, except it is attended with a great deal of prudence. You muſt have both for your guard, and not ſtir without them. The enemy is abroad, and you are ſure to be taken, if you are found ſtraggling. Your behaviour is therefore to incline ſtrongly towards the reſerved part: your character is to be immoveably fixed upon that bottom, not excluding a mixture of greater freedom, as far as it may be innocent and well-timed. The extravagancies of the age have made caution more neceſſary; and by the ſame reaſon that the too great licenſe of ill men hath by conſequence, in many things, reſtrained the lawful liberty of thoſe who did not abuſe it, the unjuſtifiable freedoms of ſome of your ſex have involved the reſt in the penalty of being reduced. And tho' this ſo cannot alter the nature of things, as to make that criminal, which in itſelf is indifferent; yet if it maketh it dangerous, that alone is ſufficient to juſtify the reſtraint. A cloſe behaviour is the fitteſt to receive virtue for its conſtant gueſt, becauſe there, and there only, it can be ſecure. Proper reſerves are the outworks, and muſt never be deſerted by thoſe who intend to keep the place; they keep off the poſſibilities not only of being taken, but of being attempted; and if a woman ſeeth danger, though at never ſo remote a diſtance, ſhe is for that time to ſhorten her line of liberty. She, who will allow herſelf to go to the utmoſt extent of every thing that is lawful, is ſo very near going farther, that thoſe who lie at watch will begin to count upon her.

Mankind, from the double temptation of vanity and deſire, is apt to turn every thing a woman doth to the hopeful ſide; and there are few who dare make an impudent application, till they diſcern ſomething which they are willing to take for an encouragement. It is ſafer therefore to prevent ſuch forwardneſs, than to go about to cure it. It gathereth ſtrength by the firſt allowances, and claimeth a right from having been at any time ſuffered with impunity. Therefore, nothing is with more care to be avoided, than ſuch a kind of civility as may be miſtaken for invitation; and it will not be enough for you to keep yourſelf free from any criminal engagements; for if you do that which either raiſeth hopes or createth diſcourſe, there is a ſpot thrown upon your good-name, and thoſe kind of ſtains are the harder to be taken out, being dropped upon you by the man's vanity, as well as by the woman's malice.

Moſt men are in one ſenſe Platonic lovers, though they are not willing to own that character. They are ſo far philoſophers, as to allow that the greateſt part of pleaſure lieth in the mind; and in purſuance of that maxim, there are few who do not place the felicity more in the opinion of the world, of their being proſperous lovers, than in the bleſſing itſelf, how much ſoever they appear to value it. This being ſo, you muſt be very cautious not to gratify theſe cameleons at the price of bringing a cloud upon your reputation, which may be deeply wounded, though your conſcience is unconcerned.

Your own ſex too will not fail to help the leaſt appearance that giveth a handle to be ill-turned. The beſt of them will not be diſpleaſed to improve their own value, by laying others under a diſadvantage, when there is a fair occaſion given for it. It diſtinguiſheth them ſtill the more; their own credit is more exalted, and, like a picture ſet off with ſhades, ſhineth more, when a lady, either leſs innocent, or leſs diſcreet, is ſet near, to make them appear ſo much the brighter. If theſe lend their breath to blaſt ſuch as are ſo unwary as to give them this advantage, you may be ſure there will be a ſtronger gale from thoſe, who, beſides malice or emulation, have an intereſt too, to ſtrike hard upon a virtuous woman. It ſeemeth to them, that their load of infamy is leſſened, by throwing part of it upon others: ſo that they will not only improve when it lieth in their way, but take pains to find out the leaſt miſtake an innocent woman committeth, in revenge of the injury ſhe doth in leading a life which is a reproach to them. With theſe you muſt be extreme wary, and neither provoke them to be angry, nor invite them to be intimate.

To the men you are to have a behaviour which may ſecure you, without offending them. No ill-bred affected ſhyneſs, nor a roughneſs, unſuitable to your ſex, and unneceſſary to your virtue; but a way of living that may prevent all coarſe railleries or unmannerly freedoms; looks that forbid without rudeneſs, and oblige without invitation, or leaving room for the ſaucy inferences men's vanity ſuggeſteth to them upon the leaſt encouragements. This is ſo very nice, that it muſt engage you to have a perpetual watch upon your eyes, and to remember, that one careleſs glance giveth more advantage than a hundred words, not enough conſidered; the language of the eyes being very much the moſt ſignificant, and the moſt obſerved.

Your civility, which is always to be preſerved, muſt not be carried to a compliance, which may betray you into irrecoverable miſtakes. This French ambiguous word *complaiſance* hath led your ſex into more blame, than all other things put together. It carried them by degrees into a certain thing called a good kind of woman, an eaſy idle creature, that doth neither good nor ill but by chance; hath no choice, but leaveth that to the company ſhe keepeth. Time, which by degrees addeth to the ſignification of words, hath made her, according to the modern ſtile, little better than one who thinketh it a rudeneſs to deny when civilly required, either her ſervice in perſon, or her friendly aſſiſtance, to thoſe who would have a meeting, or want a confident. She is a certain thing always at hand, an eaſy companion, who hath ever great compaſſion for diſtreſſed lovers: ſhe cenſureth nothing but rigor, and is never without a plaiſter for a wounded reputation, in which chiefly lieth her ſkill in chirurgery; ſhe ſeldom hath the propriety of any particular gallant, but liveth upon brokage, and waiteth for the ſcraps her friends are content to leave her.

There is another character not quite ſo criminal, yet not leſs ridiculous; which is that of a good-humoured woman, one who thinketh ſhe muſt always be in a laugh, or a broad ſmile, becauſe good-humour is an obliging quality: thinketh it leſs ill-manners to talk impertinently, than to be ſilent in company. When ſuch a prating engine rideth admiral, and carrieth the lanthorn in a circle of fools, a chearful coxcomb coming in for a recruit, the chattering of monkeys is a better noiſe, than ſuch a concert of ſenſeleſs merriment. If ſhe is applauded in it, ſhe is ſo encouraged, that, like a ballad-ſinger, who, if commended, breaketh his lungs, ſhe letteth herſelf looſe, and overfloweth upon the company. She conceiveth that mirth is to have no intermiſſion, and therefore, ſhe will carry it about with her, tho' it be to a funeral; and if a man ſhould put a familiar queſtion, ſhe doth not know very well how to be angry, for then ſhe would be no more that pretty thing called a good-humoured woman. This neceſſity of appearing at all times to be ſo infinitely pleaſed, is a grievous miſtake; ſince in a handſome woman that invitation is unneceſſary; and in one who is not ſo, ridiculous. It is not intended by this, that you ſhould forſwear laughing; but remember, that fools being always painted in that poſture, it may fright thoſe who are wiſe from doing it too frequently, and going too near a copy which is ſo little inviting, and much more from doing it loud, which is an unnatural ſound, and looketh ſo much like another ſex, that few things are more offenſive. That boiſterous kind of jollity is as contrary to wit and good manners, as it is to modeſty and virtue. Beſides, it is a coarſe kind of quality, that throweth a woman into a lower form, and degradeth her from the rank of thoſe who are more refined. Some ladies ſpeak loud and make a noiſe to be the more minded, which looketh as if they beat their drums for volunteers; and if by misfortune none come in to them, they may, not without reaſon, be a good deal out of countenance.

There is one thing yet more to be avoided, which is the example of thoſe who intend nothing farther than the vanity of conqueſt, and think themſelves ſecure of not having their honour tainted by it. Some are apt to believe their virtue is too obſcure, and not enough known, except it is expoſed to a broader light, and ſet out to its beſt advantage, by ſome public trials. Theſe are dangerous experiments, and generally fail, being built upon ſo weak a foundation, as that of a too great confidence in ourſelves. It is as ſafe to play with fire, as to dally with gallantry. Love is a paſſion that hath friends in the garriſon, and for that reaſon muſt by a woman be kept at ſuch a diſtance, that ſhe may not be within the danger of doing the moſt uſual thing in the world, which is conſpiring againſt herſelf: elſe the humble gallant, who is only admitted as a trophy, very often becometh the conqueror; he putteth on the ſtile of victory, and from an admirer groweth into a maſter, for ſo he may be called from the moment he is in poſſeſſion. The firſt reſolutions of ſtopping at good opinion and eſteem, grow weaker by degrees againſt the charms of courtſhip ſkilfully applied. A lady is apt to think a man ſpeaketh ſo much reaſon whilſt he is commending her, that ſhe hath much ado to believe him in the wrong, when he is making love to her; and when beſides the natural inducements your ſex hath to be merciful, ſhe is bribed by well-choſen flattery, the poor creature is in danger of being caught like a bird liſtening to the whiſtle of one that hath a ſnare for it. Conqueſt is ſo tempting a thing, that it often maketh women miſtake men's ſubmiſſions; which, with all their fair appearance, have generally leſs reſpect than art in them. You are to remember, that men who ſay extreme fine things, many times ſay them moſt for their own ſakes; and that the vain gallant is often as well pleaſed with his own compliments, as he could be with the kindeſt anſwer. Where there is not that oſtentation you are to ſuſpect there is deſign. And as ſtrong perfumes are ſeldom uſed but where they are neceſſary to ſmother an unwelcome ſcent; ſo exceſſive good words leave room to believe they are ſtrewed to cover ſomething, which is to gain admittance under a diſguiſe. You muſt therefore be upon your guard, and conſider, that of the two, reſpect is more dangerous than anger. It puts even the beſt underſtandings out of their place for the time, till their ſecond thoughts reſtore them; it ſtealeth upon us inſenſibly, throweth down our defences, and maketh it too late to reſiſt, after we have given it that advantage. Whereas railing goeth away in a ſound; it hath ſo much noiſe in it, that by giving warning it beſpeaketh caution. Reſpect is a ſlow and a ſure poiſon, and like poiſon ſwelleth us within ourſelves: where it prevaileth too much, it groweth to be a kind of apoplexy in the mind, turneth it quite round, and after it hath once ſeized the underſtanding, becometh mortal to it. For theſe reaſons, the ſafeſt way is to treat it like a ſly enemy, and to be perpetually upon the watch againſt it.

I will add one advice to conclude this head, which is, that you will let every ſeven years make ſome alteration in you towards the graver ſide, and not be like the girls of fifty, who reſolve to be always young, whatever time with his iron teeth hath determined to the contrary. Unnatural things carry a deformity in them never to be diſguiſed; the liveline ſs of youth in a riper age, looketh like a new patch upon an old gown; ſo that a gay matron, a chearful old fool, may be reaſonably put into the liſt of the tamer kind of monſters. There is a certain creature called a Grave Hobbyhorſe, a kind of a ſhe numps, that pretendeth to be pulled to a play, and muſt needs go to Bartholomew-fair, to look after the young folks, whom ſhe only ſeemeth to make her care; in reality ſhe taketh them for her excuſe. Such an old butterfly is of all creatures the moſt ridiculous, and the ſooneſt found out. It is good to be early in your caution, to avoid any thing that cometh within diſtance of ſuch deſpicable patterns, and not like ſome ladies who defer their converſion, till they have been ſo long in poſſeſſion of being laughed at, that the world doth not know how to change their ſtile, even when they are reclaimed from that which gave the firſt occaſion for it.

The advantages of being reſerved are too many to be ſet down, I will only ſay, that it is a guard to a good woman, and a diſguiſe to an ill one. It is of ſo much uſe to both, that thoſe ought to uſe it as an artifice, who refuſe to practiſe it as a virtue.

FRIENDSHIPS.

I MUST, in a particular manner, recommend to you a ſtrict care in the choice of your friendſhips. Perhaps the beſt are not without their objections: but however, be ſure that yours may not ſtray from the rules which the wiſer part of the world hath ſet to them. The leagues offenſive and defenſive ſeldom hold in politics, and much leſs in friendſhips. The violent intimacies, when once broken, of which they ſcarce ever fail, make ſuch a noiſe; the bag of ſecrets untied, they fly about like birds let looſe from a cage, and become the entertainment of the town. Beſides, theſe great dearneſſes by degrees grow injurious to the reſt of your acquaintance, and throw them off from you. There is ſuch an offenſive diſtinction when the dear friend cometh into the the room, that it is flinging ſtones at the company, who are not apt to forgive it.

Do not lay out your friendſhip too laviſhly at firſt, ſince it will, like other things, be ſo much the ſooner ſpent; neither let it be of too ſudden a growth; for as the plants which ſhoot up too faſt are not of that continuance as thoſe which take more time for it; ſo too ſwift a progreſs in pouring out your kindneſs, is a certain ſign that by the courſe of nature it will not be long-lived. You will be reſponſible to the world, if you pitch upon ſuch friends as at the time are under the weight of any criminal objection. In that caſe you will bring yourſelf under the diſadvantages of their character, and muſt bear your part of it. Chuſing implieth approving; and if you fix upon a lady for your friend, againſt whom the world ſhall have given judgment, it is not ſo well-natured as to believe you are altogether averſe to her way of living, ſince it doth not diſcourage you from admitting her into your kindneſs. And reſemblance of inclinations being thought none of the leaſt inducements to friendſhip, you will be looked upon at leaſt as a well-wiſher if not a partner with her in her faults. If you can forgive them in another, it may be preſumed, you will not be leſs gentle to yourſelf; and therefore, you muſt not take it ill, if you are reckoned a *croupiere,* and condemned to pay an equal ſhare with ſuch a friend of the reputation ſhe hath loſt.

If it happeneth that your friend ſhould fall from the ſtate of innocence after your kindneſs was engaged to her, you may be ſlow in your belief in the beginning of the diſcovery; but as ſoon as you are convinced by a rational evidence, you muſt, without breaking too roughly, make a fair and a quick retreat from ſuch a miſtaken acquaintance: elſe by moving too ſlowly from one that is ſo tainted, the contagion may reach you ſo far as to give you part of the ſcandal, though not of the guilt. This matter is ſo nice, that as you muſt not be too haſty to join in the cenſure upon your friend when ſhe is accuſed, ſo you are not, on the other ſide, to defend her with too much warmth; for if ſhe ſhould happen to deſerve the report of common fame, beſides the vexation that belongeth to ſuch a miſtake, you will draw an ill appearance upon yourſelf, and it will be thought you pleaded for her not without ſome conſideration of yourſelf. The anger which muſt be put on to vindicate the reputation of an injured friend, may incline the company to ſuſpect you would not be ſo zealous, if there was not a poſſibility that the caſe might be your own. For this reaſon, you are not to carry your dearneſs ſo far, as abſolutely to loſe your ſight where your friend is concerned. Becauſe malice is too quick-ſighted, it doth not follow that friendſhip muſt be blind: there is to be a mean between theſe two extremes, elſe your exceſs of good-nature may betray you into a very ridiculous figure, and by degrees you may be preferred to ſuch offices as you will not be proud of. Your ignorance may leſſen the guilt, but will improve the jeſt upon you, who ſhall be kindly ſollicitous to procure a meeting, and innocently contribute to the ills you would avoid: whilſt the contriving lovers, when they are alone, ſhall make you the ſubject of their mirth, and perhaps (with reſpect to the goddeſs of love be it ſpoken) it is not the worſt part of their entertainment, at leaſt it is the moſt laſting, to laugh at the believing friend, who was ſo eaſily deluded.

Let the good ſenſe of your friends be a

chief ingredient in your choice of them; elſe let your reputation be never ſo clear, it may be clouded by their impertinence. It is like our houſes being in the power of a drunken or a careleſs neighbour; only ſo much worſe, as that there will be no inſurance here to make you amends, as there is in the caſe of fire.

To conclude this paragraph; If formality is to be allowed in any inſtance, it is to be put on to reſiſt the invaſion of ſuch forward women as ſhall preſs themſelves into your frienſhip, where if admitted, they will either be a ſnare or an incumbrance.

CENSURE.

I WILL come next to the conſideration, how you are to manage your cenſure; in which both care and ſkill will be a good deal required. To diſtinguiſh is not only natural but neceſſary; and the effect of it is, that we cannot avoid giving judgment in our minds, either to abſolve or to condemn, as the caſe requireth. The difficulty is, to know when and where it is fit to proclaim the ſentence. An averſion to what is criminal, a contempt of what is ridiculous, are the inſeparable companions of underſtanding and virtue; but the letting them go farther than our own thoughts, hath ſo much danger in it, that though it is neither poſſible nor fit to ſuppreſs them entirely, yet it is neceſſary they ſhould be kept under very great reſtraints. An unlimited liberty of this kind is little leſs than ſending an herald, and proclaiming war to the world, which is an angry beaſt when ſo provoked. The conteſt will be unequal, though you are never ſo much in the right; and if you begin againſt ſuch an adverſary, it will tear you in pieces, with this juſtification, that it is done in its own defence. You muſt therefore take heed of laughing, except in company that is very ſure. It is throwing ſnowballs againſt bullets; and it is the diſadvantage of a woman, that the malice of the world will help the brutality of thoſe who will throw a ſlovenly untruth upon her. You are for this reaſon to ſuppreſs your impatience for fools; who, beſides that they are too ſtrong a party to be unneceſſarily provoked, are of all others, the moſt dangerous in this caſe. A blockhead in his rage will return a dull jeſt that will lie heavy, though there is not a grain of wit in it. Others will do it with more art, and you muſt not think yourſelf ſecure, becauſe your reputation may perhaps be out of the reach of ill-will; for if it findeth that part guarded, it will ſeek one which is more expoſed. It flieth, like a corrupt humour, in the body, to the weakeſt part. If you have a tender ſide, the world will be ſure to find it, and to put the worſt colour upon all you ſay or do; give an aggravation to every thing that may leſſen you, and a ſpiteful turn to every thing that might recommend you. Anger layeth open thoſe defects which friendſhip would not ſee, and civility might be willing to forget. Malice needeth no ſuch invitation to encourage it, neither are any pains more ſuperfluous than thoſe we take to be ill ſpoken of. If envy, which never dieth, and ſeldom ſleepeth, is content ſometimes to be in a ſlumber, it is very unſkilful to make a noiſe to awake it.

Beſides, your wit will be miſapplied if it is wholly directed to diſcern the faults of others, when it is ſo neceſſary to be often uſed to mend and prevent your own. The ſending our thoughts too much abroad hath the ſame effect, as when a family never ſtayeth at home; neglect and diſorder naturally followeth; as it muſt do within ourſelves, if we do not frequently turn our eyes inwards, to ſee what is amiſs with us; where it is a ſign we have an unwelcome proſpect, when we do not care to look upon it, but rather ſeek our conſolations in the faults of thoſe we converſe with.

Avoid being the firſt in fixing a hard cenſure; let it be confirmed by the general voice, before you give into it: neither are you then to give ſentence like a magiſtrate, or as if you had a ſpecial authority to beſtow a good or ill name at your diſcretion. Do not dwell too long upon a weak ſide; touch and go away; take pleaſure to ſtay longer where you can commend, like bees that fix only upon thoſe herbs out of which they may extract the juice of which their honey is compoſed. A virtue ſtuck with briſtles is too rough for this age; it muſt be adorned with ſome flowers, or elſe it will be unwillingly entertained: ſo that even where it may be fit to ſtrike, do it like a lady, gently; and aſſure yourſelf, that where you care to do it, you will wound others more, and hurt yourſelf leſs, by ſoft ſtrokes, than by being harſh or violent.

The triumph of wit is to make your good-nature ſubdue your cenſure, to be quick in ſeeing faults, and ſlow in expoſing them.

You are to conſider, that the inviſible thing called a good name, is made up of the breath of numbers that ſpeak well of you; ſo that if by a diſobliging word you ſilence the meaneſt, the gale will be leſs ſtrong which is to bear up your eſteem. And though nothing is ſo vain as the eager purſuit of empty applauſe, yet to be well thought of, and to be kindly uſed by the world, is like a glory about a woman's head; it is a perfume ſhe carrieth about with her, and leaveth where-ever ſhe goeth; it is a charm againſt ill-will. Malice may empty her quiver, but cannot wound; the dirt will not ſtick, the jeſts will not take; without the conſent of the world a ſcandal doth not go deep; it is only a ſlight ſtroke upon the injured party, and returneth with the greater force upon thoſe that gave it.

VANITY and AFFECTATION.

I MUST with more than ordinary earneſtneſs give you caution againſt vanity, it being the fault to which your ſex ſeemeth to be the moſt inclined; and ſince affectation, for the moſt part, attendeth it, I do not know how to divide them. I will not call them twins, becauſe more properly vanity is the mother, and affectation is the darling daughter; vanity is the ſin, and affectation is the puniſhment; the firſt may be called the root of ſelf-love, the other the fruit. Vanity is never at its full growth, till it ſpreadeth into affectation; and then it is complete.

Not to dwell any longer upon the definition of them, I will paſs to the means and motives to avoid them. In order to it, you are to conſider, that the world challengeth the right of diſtributing eſteem and applauſe; ſo that where any aſſume, by their ſingle authority, to be their own carvers, it groweth angry, and never faileth to ſeek revenge. And if we may meaſure a fault by the greatneſs of the penalty, there are few of a higher ſize than vanity, as there is ſcarce a puniſhment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at.

Vanity maketh a woman tainted with it, ſo top-full of herſelf, that ſhe ſpilleth it upon the company. And becauſe her own thoughts are entirely employed in ſelf-contemplation, ſhe endeavoureth, by a cruel miſtake, to confine her acquaintance to the ſame narrow circle of that which only concerneth her ladyſhip; forgetting that ſhe is not of half that importance to the world, that ſhe is to herſelf; ſo miſtaken ſhe is in her value, by being her own appraiſer: ſhe will fetch ſuch a compaſs in diſcourſe to bring in her beloved ſelf, and rather than fail, her fine petticoat, that there can hardly be a better ſcene, than ſuch a trial of ridiculous ingenuity. It is a pleaſure to ſee her angle for commendations, and riſe ſo diſſatisfied with the ill-bred company, if they will not bite. To obſerve her throwing her eyes about to fetch in priſoners, and go about cruizing like a privateer, and ſo out of countenance, if ſhe return without booty, is no ill piece of comedy. She is ſo eager to draw reſpect, that ſhe always miſſeth it; yet thinketh it ſo much her due, that when ſhe faileth, ſhe groweth waſpiſh, not conſidering that it is impoſſible to commit a rape upon the will; that it muſt be fairly gained, and will not be taken by ſtorm; and that in this caſe, the tax ever riſeth higheſt by a benevolence. If the world, inſtead of admiring her imaginary excellencies, taketh the liberty to laugh at them, ſhe appealeth from it to herſelf, for whom ſhe giveth ſentence, and proclaimeth it in all companies. On the other ſide, if encouraged by a civil word, ſhe is ſo obliging, that ſhe will give thanks for being laughed at in good language. She taketh a compliment for a demonſtration, and ſetteth it up as an evidence, even againſt her looking-glaſs. But the good lady being all this while in a moſt profound ignorance of herſelf, forgetteth that men would not let her talk upon them, and throw ſo many ſenſeleſs words at their heads, if they did not intend to put her perſon to fine and ranſom for her impertinence. Good words of any other lady are ſo many ſtones thrown at her; ſhe can by no means bear them; they make her ſo uneaſy, that ſhe cannot keep her ſeat, but up ſhe riſeth, and goeth home half burſt with anger and ſtrait-lacing. If by great chance ſhe ſaith any thing that hath ſenſe in it, ſhe expecteth ſuch an exceſſive rate of commendations, that, to her thinking, the company ever riſeth in her debt. She looketh upon rules, as things made for the common people, and not for perſons of her rank; and this opinion ſometimes tempteth her to extend her prerogative to the diſpenſing with the commandments. If by great fortune ſhe happeneth, in ſpite of her vanity, to be honeſt, ſhe is ſo troubleſome with it, that, as far as in her lieth, ſhe maketh a ſcurvy thing of it. Her bragging of her virtue looketh as if it coſt her ſo much pains to get the better of herſelf, that the inferences are very ridiculous. Her good-humour is generally applied to the laughing at good-ſenſe. It would do one good, to ſee how heartily ſhe deſpiſeth any thing that is fit for her to do. The greateſt part of her fancy is laid out in chuſing her gown, as her diſcretion is chiefly employed in not paying for it. She is faithful to the faſhion, to which not only her opinion, but her ſenſes are wholly reſigned: ſo obſequious ſhe is to it, that ſhe would be ready to be reconciled even to virtue with all its faults, if ſhe had her dancing-maſter's word, that it was practiſed at court.

To a woman ſo compoſed, when affectation cometh in to improve her character, it is then raiſed to the higheſt perfection. She firſt ſetteth up for a fine thing, and for that reaſon will diſtinguiſh herſelf, right or wrong, in every thing ſhe doth. She would have it thought, that ſhe is made of ſo much the finer clay, and ſo much more ſifted than ordinary, that ſhe hath no common earth about her. To this end, ſhe muſt neither move nor ſpeak like other women, becauſe it would be vulgar; and therefore, muſt have a language of her own, ſince ordinary Engliſh is too coarſe for her. The looking-glaſs, in the morning, dictateth to her all the motions of the day; which by how much the more ſtudied, are ſo much the more miſtaken. She cometh into a room, as if her limbs were ſet on with ill-made ſcrews, which maketh the company fear the pretty thing ſhould leave ſome of its artificial perſon upon the floor. She doth not like herſelf as God Almighty made her, but will have ſome of her own workmanſhip; which is ſo far from making her a better thing than a woman, that it turneth her into a worſe creature than a monkey. She falleth out with nature, againſt which ſhe maketh war without admitting a truce, thoſe moments excepted in which her gallant may reconcile her to it. When ſhe hath a mind to be ſoft and languiſhing, there is ſomething ſo unnatural in that affected eaſineſs, that her frowns could not be by many degrees ſo forbidding. When ſhe would appear unreaſonably humble, one may ſee ſhe is ſo exceſſively proud, that there is no enduring it. There is ſuch an impertinent ſmile, ſuch a ſatisfied ſimper, when ſhe faintly diſowneth ſome fulſom commendation a man happeneth to beſtow upon her againſt his conſcience, that her thanks for it are more viſible under ſuch a thin diſguiſe, than they could be if ſhe ſhould print them. If a handſomer woman taketh any liberty of dreſſing out of the ordinary rules, the miſtaken lady followeth, without diſtinguiſhing the unequal pattern, and maketh herſelf uglier by an example miſplaced; either forgetting the privilege of good looks in another, or preſuming, without ſufficient reaſon, upon her own. Her diſcourſe is a ſenſeleſs chime of empty words, a heap of compliments ſo equally applied to differing perſons, that they are neither valued nor believed. Her eyes keep pace with her tongue, and are therefore always in motion. One may diſcern that they generally incline to the compaſſionate ſide; and that, notwithſtanding her pretence to virtue, ſhe is gentle to diſtreſſed lovers, and ladies that are merciful. She will repeat the tender part of a play ſo feelingly, that the company may gueſs, without injuſtice, ſhe was not altogether a diſintereſted ſpectator. She thinketh that paint and ſin are concealed by railing at them. Upon the latter ſhe is leſs hard; and being divided between the two oppoſite prides of her beauty and her virtue, ſhe is often tempted to give broad hints, that ſome-body is dying for her; and of the two, ſhe is leſs unwilling to let the world think ſhe may be ſometimes prophaned, than that ſhe is never worſhipped.

Very great beauty may perhaps ſo dazzle for a time, that men may not ſo clearly ſee the deformity of theſe affectations: but when the brightneſs goeth off, and that the lover's eyes are by that means ſet at liberty to ſee things as they are, he will naturally return to his ſenſes, and recover the miſtake into which the lady's good looks had at firſt engaged him. And being once undeceived, ceaſeth to worſhip that as a goddeſs, which he ſeeth is only an artificial ſhrine moved by wheels and ſprings to delude him. Such women pleaſe only like the firſt opening of a ſcene, that hath nothing to recommend it, but that of being new. They may be compared to flies, that have pretty ſhining wings for two or three hot months, but the firſt cold weather maketh an end of them; ſo the latter ſeaſon of theſe fluttering creatures is diſmal: from their neareſt friends, they receive a very faint reſpect; from the reſt of the world, the utmoſt degree of contempt.

Let this picture ſupply the place of any other rules, which might be given to prevent your reſemblance to it. The deformity of it, well conſidered, is inſtruction enough; from the ſame reaſon, that the ſight of a drunkard is a better ſermon againſt that vice, than the beſt that was ever preached upon that ſubject.

PRIDE.

AFTER having ſaid this againſt vanity, I do not intend to apply the ſame cenſure to pride, well placed, and rightly defined. It is an ambiguous word; one kind of it is as much a virtue, as the other is a vice: but we are naturally ſo apt to chuſe the worſt, that it is become dangerous to commend the beſt ſide of it.

A woman is not to be proud of her fine gown; nor when ſhe hath leſs wit than her neighbours, to comfort herſelf that ſhe hath more lace. Some ladies put ſo much weight upon ornaments, that if one could ſee into their hearts, it would be found, that even the thought of death is made leſs heavy to them, by the contemplation of their being laid out in ſtate, and honourably attended to the grave. One may come a good deal ſhort of ſuch an extreme, and yet ſtill be ſufficiently impertinent, by ſetting a wrong value upon things, which ought to be uſed with more indifference. A lady muſt not appear ſolicitous to ingroſs reſpect to herſelf, but be content with a reaſonable diſtribution, and allow it to others, that ſhe may have it returned to her. She is not to be troubleſomly nice, nor diſtinguiſh herſelf by being too delicate, as if ordinary things were too coarſe for her; this is an unmannerly and offenſive pride, and where it is practiſed, deſerveth to be mortified; of which it ſeldom faileth. She is not to lean too much upon her quality, much leſs to deſpiſe thoſe who are below it. Some make quality an idol, and then their reaſon muſt fall down and worſhip it. They would have the world think, that no amends can ever be made for the want of a great title, or an ancient coat of arms: they imagine that with theſe advantages they ſtand upon the higher ground, which maketh them look down upon merit and virtue, as things inferior to them. This miſtake is not only ſenſeleſs, but criminal too, in putting a greater price upon that which is a piece of good luck than upon things which are valuable in themſelves. Laughing is not enough for ſuch a folly; it muſt be ſeverely whipped, as it juſtly deſerves. It will be confeſſed, there are frequent temptations given by pert upſtarts to be angry, and by that to have our judgments corrupted in theſe caſes: but they are to be reſiſted; and the utmoſt that is to be allowed, is, when thoſe of a new edition will forget themſelves, ſo as either to brag of their weak ſide, or to endeavour to hide their meanneſs by their inſolence, to cure them by a little ſeaſonable raillery, a little ſharpneſs well placed, without dwelling too long upon it.

Theſe and many other kinds of pride are to be avoided.

That which is to be recommended to you, is an emulation to raiſe yourſelf to a character, by which you may be diſtinguiſhed; an eagerneſs for precedence in virtue, and all ſuch other things, as may gain you a greater ſhare of the good opinion of the world. Eſteem to virtue is like a cheriſhing air to plants and flowers, which maketh them blow and proſper; and for that reaſon it may be allowed to be, in ſome degree, the cauſe as well as the reward of it. That pride which leadeth to a good end cannot be a vice, ſince it is the beginning of a virtue; and to be pleaſed with juſt applauſe, is ſo far from a fault, that it would be an ill ſymptom in a woman, who ſhould not place the greateſt part of her ſatisfaction in it. Humility is no doubt a great virtue; but it ceaſes to be ſo, when it is afraid to ſcorn an ill thing. Againſt vice and folly, it is becoming your ſex to be haughty; but you muſt not carry the contempt of things to arrogance towards perſons; and it muſt be done with fitting diſtinctions, elſe it may be inconvenient by being unſeaſonable. A pride that raiſeth a little anger to be out-done in any thing that is good, will have ſo good an effect, that it is very hard to allow it to be a fault.

It is no eaſy matter to carry even between theſe differing kinds ſo deſcribed; but remember that it is ſafer for a woman to be thought too proud, than too familiar.

DIVERSION.

THE laſt thing I ſhall recommend to you, is a wiſe and a ſafe method of uſing diverſions. To be too eager in the purſuit of pleaſure whilſt you are young, is dangerous; to catch at it in riper years, is graſping a ſhadow; it will not be held: beſides that by being leſs natural, it groweth to be indecent. Diverſions are the moſt properly applied, to eaſe and relieve thoſe who are oppreſſed, by being too much employed. Thoſe that are idle have no need of them, and yet they, above all others, give themſelves up to them. To unbend our thoughts, when they are too much ſtretched by our cares, is not more natural than it is neceſſary; but to turn our whole life into a holy-day, is not only ridiculous, but deſtroyeth pleaſure inſtead of promoting it. The mind, like the body, is tired by being always in one poſture; too ſerious breaketh, and too diverting looſeneth it: it is variety that giveth the reliſh; ſo that diverſions too frequently repeated, grow firſt to be indifferent, and at laſt tedious. Whilſt they are well choſen, and well timed, they are never to be blamed; but when they are uſed to an exceſs, though very innocent at firſt, they often grow to be criminal, and never fail to be impertinent.

Some ladies are beſpoken for merry meetings, as Beſſus was for duels. They are engaged in a circle of idleneſs, where they turn round for the whole year, without the interruption of a ſerious hour: they know all the players names, and are intimately acquainted with all the booths in Bartholomew-fair. No ſoldier is more obedient to the ſound of his captain's trumpet, than they are to that which ſummoneth them to a puppet-play, or a monſter. The ſpring that bringeth out flies and fools, maketh them inhabitants in Hide-Park; in the winter they are an incumberance to the play-houſe, and the ballaſt of the drawing-room. The ſtreets all this while are ſo weary of theſe daily faces, that men's eyes are over-laid with them. The ſight is glutted with fine things, as the ſtomach with ſweet ones; and when a fair lady will give too much of herſelf to the world, ſhe groweth luſcious, and oppreſſes inſtead of pleaſing. Theſe jolly ladies do ſo continually ſeek diverſion, that in a little time they grow into a jeſt; yet are unwilling to remember, that if they were ſeldomer ſeen, they would not be ſo often laughed at. Beſides, they make themſelves cheap, than which there cannot be an unkinder word beſtowed upon your ſex.

To play ſometimes to entertain company, or to divert yourſelf, is not to be diſallowed; but to do it ſo often as to be called a gameſter, is to be avoided next to the things that are moſt criminal. It hath conſequences of ſeveral kinds not to be endured; it will engage you into a habit of idleneſs and ill hours; draw you into ill-mixed company; make you neglect your civilities abroad, and your buſineſs at home; and impoſe into your acquaintance ſuch as will do you no credit.

To deep play, there will be yet greater objections. It will give occaſion to the world to aſk ſpiteful queſtions: how you dare venture to loſe, and what means you have to pay ſuch great ſums? If you pay exactly, it will be enquired from whence the money cometh? If you owe, and eſpecially to a man, you muſt be ſo very civil to him for his forbearance, that it layeth a ground of having it farther improved, if the gentleman is ſo diſpoſed; who will be thought no unfair creditor, if, where the eſtate faileth, he ſeizeth upon the perſon. Beſides, if a lady could ſee her own face upon an ill game, at a deep ſtake, ſhe would certainly forſwear any thing that could put her looks under ſuch a diſadvantage.

To dance ſometimes, will not be imputed to you as a fault; but remember that the end of your learning it, was, that you might the better know how to move gracefully: it is only an advantage ſo far. When it goeth beyond it, one may call it excelling in a miſtake, which is no very great commendation. It is better for a woman never to dance, becauſe ſhe hath no ſkill in it, than to do it too often, becauſe ſhe doth it well. The eaſieſt as well as the ſafeſt method of doing it, is in private companies, amongſt particular friends, and then careleſly, like a diverſion, rather than with ſolemnity, as if it was a buſineſs, or had any thing in it to deſerve a month's preparation by ſerious conference with a dancing-maſter.

Much more might be ſaid to all theſe heads, and many more might be added to them. But I muſt reſtrain my thoughts, which are full of my dear child, and would overflow into a volume, which would not be fit for a New-Year's-Gift. I will conclude with my warmeſt wiſhes for all that is good to you. That you may live ſo as to be an ornament to your family, and a pattern to your ſex: That you may be bleſſed with a husband that may value, and with children that may inherit your virtue: That you may ſhine in the world by a true light, and ſilence envy by deſerving to be eſteemed: That wit and virtue may both conſpire to make you a great figure. When they are ſeparated, the firſt is ſo empty, and the other ſo faint, that they ſcarce have right to be commended. May they therefore meet and never part; let them be your guardian angels, and be ſure never to ſtray out of the diſtance of their joint protection. May you ſo raiſe your character, that you may help to make the next age a better thing, and leave poſterity in your debt, for the advantage it ſhall receive by your example.

Let me conjure you, My deareſt, to comply with this kind ambition of a father, whoſe thoughts are ſo engaged in your behalf, that he reckoneth your happpineſs to be the greateſt part of his own.

THE
CHARACTER
OF A
TRIMMER:
HIS
OPINION
OF

I. The LAWS and GOVERNMENT.

II. PROTESTANT RELIGION.

III. The PAPISTS.

IV. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE

PREFACE.

IT muſt be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a man to write in an age over-run with ſcribblers, as Egypt was with flies and locuſts: that worſt vermin of ſmall authors has given the world ſuch a ſurfeit, that inſtead of deſiring to write, a man would be more inclined to wiſh for his own eaſe, that he could not read. But there are ſome things which do ſo raiſe our paſſions, that our reaſon can make no reſiſtance; and when madmen, in two extremes, ſhall agree to make common ſenſe, treaſon, and join to fix an ill character upon the only men in the nation who deſerve a good one; I am no longer maſter of my better reſolution to let the world alone, and muſt break looſe from my more reaſonable thoughts, to expoſe theſe falſe coiners, who would make their copper wares paſs upon us for good payment.

Amongſt all the engines of diſſention, *there has been none more powerful in all times, than the fixing names upon one another of contumely and reproach; and the reaſon is plain, in reſpect of the people, who, though generally they are uncapable of making a ſyllogiſm, or forming an argument, yet they can pronounce a word; and that ſerves their turn to throw it with their dull malice at the head of thoſe they do not like. Such things ever begin in jeſt, and end in blood; and the ſame word which at firſt makes the company merry, grows in time to a military ſignal to cut one another's throats.*

Theſe miſtakes are to be lamented, though not eaſily cured, being ſuitable enough to the corrupted nature of mankind; but it is hard, that men will not only invent ill names, but they will wreſt and miſinterpret good ones; ſo afraid ſome are even of a reconciling ſound, that they raiſe another noiſe to keep it from being heard, leſt it ſhould ſet up, and encourage a dangerous ſort of men, who prefer peace and agreement, before violence and confuſion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have played the fool with throwing Whig and Tory at one another, as boys do ſnow-balls, do we grow angry at a new name, which by its true *ſignification might do as much to put us into our wits, as the other has done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer ſignifies no more than this, That if men are together in a boat, and one part of the company would weigh it down on one ſide, another would make it lean as much to the contrary; it happens there is a third opinion of thoſe, who conceive it would do as well, if the boat went even, without endangering the paſſengers; now it is hard to imagine by what figure in language, or by what rule in ſenſe this comes to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it ſhould be thought a hereſy.

But ſo it happens, that the poor Trimmer has now all the powder ſpent upon him alone, while the Whig is a forgotten, or at leaſt a neglected enemy; there is no danger now to the ſtate (if ſome men may be believed) but from the beaſt called a Trimmer; take heed of him, he is the inſtrument that muſt deſtroy church and ſtate; a new kind of monſter, whoſe deformity is ſo expoſed, that, were it a true picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright children, and make women miſcarry at the ſight of it.

But it may be worth the examining,

whether he is ſuch a beaſt as he is painted. I am not of that opinion; and am ſo far from thinking him an infidel either in church or ſtate, that I am neither afraid to expoſe the articles of his faith, in relation to government; nor to ſay, that I prefer them before any other political creed, that either our angry divines, or our refined ſtateſmen would impoſe upon us.

I have therefore, in the following diſcourſe, endeavoured to explain the Trimmer's principles and opinions; and then leave it to all diſcerning and impartial judges, whether he can with juſtice be ſo arraigned, and whether thoſe who deliberately pervert a good name, do not very juſtly deſerve the worſt that can be put upon themſelves.

THE
TRIMMER'S OPINION
OF THE
LAWS
AND
GOVERNMENT.

OUR Trimmer, as he has a great veneration for laws in general, ſo he has more particularly for our own; he looks upon them as the chains that tie up our unruly paſſions, which elſe, like wild beaſts let looſe, would reduce the world into its firſt ſtate of barbariſm and hoſtility; the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from by their protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a creator, without being a lawgiver; and his goodneſs had been defective towards mankind in making them, if he had not preſcribed rules to make them happy too.

All laws flow from that of nature; and where that is not the foundation, they may be legally impoſed, but they will be lamely obeyed: by this nature, is not meant that which fools and madmen miſquote to juſtify their exceſſes; it is innocent and uncorrupted nature, that which diſpoſes men to chuſe virtue, without its being preſcribed, and which is ſo far from inſpiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to ſuppreſs the good ones it infuſes.

The civilized world has ever paid a willing ſubjection to laws, even conquerors have done homage to them; as the Romans, who took patterns of good laws, even from thoſe they had ſubdued, and at the ſame time that they triumphed over an enſlaved people, the very laws of that place did not only remain ſafe, but became victorious; their new maſters, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, paid them more reſpect than they had from thoſe who firſt made them; and by this wiſe method they arrived to ſuch an admirable conſtitution of laws, that to this day they reign by them. This excellency of them triumphs ſtill, and the world pays now an acknowlegement of their obedience to that mighty empire, though ſo many ages after it is diſſolved. And by a later inſtance, the kings of France, who in practice uſe their laws pretty familiarly, yet think their picture is drawn with moſt advantage upon their ſeals, when they are placed in the ſeat of juſtice: and though the hieroglyphic is not there of ſo much uſe to the people as they would wiſh, yet it ſhews that no prince is ſo great, as not to think fit, for his own credit at leaſt, to give an outward, when he refuſes a real worſhip to the laws.

They are to mankind that which the ſun is to plants; whilſt it cheriſhes and preſerves them. Where they have their force, and are not clouded or ſuppreſſed, every thing ſmiles and flouriſhes; but where they are darkened, and not ſuffered to ſhine out, it makes every thing to wither and decay.

They ſecure men not only againſt one another, but againſt themſelves too; they are a ſanctuary, to which the crown has occaſion to reſort as often as the people; ſo that it is an intereſt as well as a duty to preſerve them.

There would be no end of making a panegyric of laws; let it be enough to add, that without laws the world would become a wilderneſs, and men little leſs than beaſts. But with all this, the beſt things may come to be the worſt, if they are not in good hands; and if it be true that the wiſeſt men generally make the laws, it is as true, that the ſtrongeſt do often interpret them: and as rivers belong as much to the channel where they run, as to the ſpring from whence they firſt riſe; ſo the laws depend as much upon the pipes through which they are to paſs, as upon the fountain from whence they flow.

The authority of a king who is head of the law, as well as the dignity of public juſtice, is debaſed, when the clear ſtream of the law is puddled and diſturbed by bunglers, or conveyed by unclean inſtruments to the people.

Our Trimmer would have them appear in their full luſtre, and would be grieved to ſee the day, when, inſtead of ſpeaking with authority from the ſeats of juſtice, they ſhould ſpeak out of a grate with a lamenting voice, like priſoners that deſire to be reſcued.

He wiſhes that the bench may have a natural, as well as a legal ſuperiority to the bar; he thinks mens abilities very much miſplaced, when the reaſon of him that pleads, is viſibly too ſtrong for thoſe who judge and give ſentence.

When thoſe from the bar ſeem to dictate to their ſuperiors upon the bench, their furs will look ſcurvily about them, and the reſpect of the world will leave the bare character of a judge, to follow the eſſential knowlege of a lawyer, who may be greater in himſelf than the other can be with all his trappings.

An uncontested ſuperiority in any calling will have the better of any diſtinct name that authority can put upon it; and therefore, if ever ſuch an unnatural method ſhould be introduced, it is then that Weſtminſter-Hall might be ſaid to ſtand upon its head; and though juſtice itſelf can never be ſo, yet the adminiſtration of it would be rendered ridiculous.

A judge has ſuch power lodged in him, that the king will never be thought to have choſen well, where the voice of mankind has not before-hand recommended the man to his ſtation; when men are made judges of what they do not underſtand, the world cenſures ſuch a choice, not out of ill-will to the men, but fear to themſelves.

If the king had the ſole power of chuſing phyſicians, men would tremble to ſee bunglers preferred; yet the neceſſity of taking phyſic from a doctor, is generally not ſo great, as that of receiving juſtice from a judge: and yet the inferences will be very ſevere in ſuch caſes; for either it will be thought, that ſuch men bought what they were not able to deſerve; or which is as bad, that obedience ſhall be looked upon as a better qualification in a judge, than ſkill of integrity. When ſuch ſacred things as the laws are not only touched, but guided by prophane hands, men will fear that out of the tree of the law, from whence we expect ſhade and ſhelter, ſuch workmen will make cudgels to beat us with; or rather, that they will turn the cannon upon our properties, that were entruſted with them for their defence.

To ſee the laws mangled, diſguiſed, ſpeak quite another language than their own; to ſee them thrown from the dignity of protecting mankind, to the diſgraceful office of deſtroying them; and notwithſtanding their innocence in themſelves, to be made the worſt inſtruments that the moſt refined villany can make uſe of, will raiſe mens anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the evil examples given them, of judging without hearing, when ſo provoked by their deſire of revenge. Our Trimmer therefore, as he thinks the laws are jewels, ſo he believes they are no better ſet than in the conſtitution of our Engliſh government, if rightly underſtood, and carefully preſerved.

It would be too great partiality, to ſay they are perfect, or liable to no objection: ſuch things are not of this world; but if they have more excellencies and fewer faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our eſteem.

The diſpute, which is a greater beauty, a monarchy or a commonwealth, has laſted long between their contending lovers; and they have behaved themſelves ſo like lovers, (who in good manners muſt be out of their wits, who uſed ſuch figures to exalt their own idols on either ſide, and ſuch angry aggravations to reproach one another in the conteſt) that moderate men have in all times ſmiled upon this eagerneſs, and thought it differed very little from a downright frenzy. We in England, by a happy uſe of the controverſy, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our pattern, not taking their words in the utmoſt extent, which is a thing, that monarchy leaves men no liberty, and a commonwealth ſuch a one as allows them no quiet.

We think that a wiſe mean, between theſe barbarous extremes, is that which ſelf preſervation ought to dictate to our wiſhes; and we may ſay we have attained to this mean in a greater meaſure than any nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of, though never ſo much celebrated for the wiſdom or felicity of their conſtitutions: we take from one the too great power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other the confuſion, the parity, the animoſities, and the licenſe, and yet reſerve a due care of ſuch a liberty, as may conſiſt with mens allegiance. But it being hard, if not impoſſible, to be exactly even, our government has much the ſtronger biaſs towards monarchy; which by the general conſent and practice of mankind, ſeems to have the advantage in diſpute againſt a commonwealth. The rules of a commonwealth are too hard for the bulk of mankind to come-up to: that form of government requires ſuch a ſpirit to carry it on, as does not dwell in great numbers; but is reſtrained to ſo very few, eſpecially in this age, that let the methods appear never ſo much reaſonable in paper, they muſt fail in practice; which will ever be ſuited more to mens nature as it is, than as it ſhould be.

Monarchy is liked by the people for the bells and the tinſel, the outward pomp and gilding; and there muſt be milk for babes, ſince the greateſt part of mankind are, and ever will be, included in that liſt: and it is approved by wiſe and thinking men (all circumſtances and objections impartially conſidered) that it has ſo great an advantage above all other forms, when the adminiſtration of that power falls in good hands, that all other governments look out of countenance, when they are ſet in competition with it. Lycurgus might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of making laws, if either he had been immortal, or that he could have ſecured to poſterity a ſucceeding race of princes like himſelf; his own example was a better law than he could with all his ſkill tell how to make. Such a prince is a living law, that dictates to his ſubjects, whoſe thoughts, in that caſe, never riſe above their obedience; the confidence they have in the virtue and knowlege of the maſter, preventing the ſcruples and apprehenſions to which men are naturally inclined, in relation to thoſe that govern them. Such a magiſtrate is the life and ſoul of juſtice; whereas the law is but a body, and a dead one too, without his influence to give it warmth and vigor; and by the irreſiſtible power of his virtue, he does ſo reconcile dominion and allegiance, that all diſputes between them are ſilenced and ſubdued: and indeed no monarchy can be perfect and abſolute without exception, but where the prince is ſuperior by his virtue, as well as by his character and his power: ſo that to ſcrew out precedents and unlimited power, is a plain diminution to a prince that nature has made great, and who had better make himſelf a glorious example to poſterity, than borrow an authority from dark records raiſed out of the grave; which, beſides their non-uſage, have always in them matter of controverſy and debate: and it may be affirmed, that the inſtances are very rare, of princes having the worſt in the diſpute with their people, if they were eminent for juſtice in time of peace, or conduct in time of war: ſuch advantage the crown giveth to thoſe, who adorn it by their own perſonal virtues.

But ſince, for the greater honour of good and wiſe princes, and the bettter to ſet off their character by the compariſon, heaven has decreed there muſt be a mixture; and that ſuch as are perverſe and inſufficient, or at leaſt both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the government of the world; and beſides that the will of man is ſo various, and ſo unbounded a thing, and ſo fatal too when joined with power miſapplied; it is no wonder, if thoſe who are to be governed, are unwilling to have ſo dangerous, as well as ſo uncertain a ſtandard of their obedience,

There muſt be therefore rules and laws; for want of which, or at leaſt the obſervation of them, it was as capital for a man to ſay, that Nero did not play well upon the lute, as to commit treaſon, or blaſpheme the gods. And even Veſpaſian himſelf had like to have loſt his life, for ſleeping whilſt he ſhould have attended and admired that emperor's impertinence upon the ſtage. There is a wantonneſs in great power, that men are generally too apt to be corrupted with; and for that reaſon, a wiſe prince, to prevent the temptation ariſing from common frailty, would chuſe to govern by rules for his own ſake, as well as for his people's; ſince it only ſecures him from errors, and does not leſſen the real authority that a good magiſtrate would care to be poſſeſſed of; for if the will of a prince is contrary either to reaſon itſelf, or to the univerſal opinion of his ſubjects, the law, by a kind reſtraint, reſcues him from a diſeaſe that would undo him: if his will, on the other ſide, is reaſonable or well directed, that will immediately becomes a law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſy and natural conſequence, without taking pains, or overturning the world for it.

If princes conſider laws as things impoſed on them, they have the appearance of fetters of iron; but to ſuch as would make them their choice, as well as their practice, they are chains of gold; and in that reſpect are ornaments, as in others they are a defence to them; and by a compariſon, not improper for God's vicegerents upon earth: as our maker never commands our obedience to any thing, that, as reaſonable creatures, we ought not to make our own election; ſo a good and wiſe governor, though all laws were aboliſhed, would, by the voluntary direction of his own reaſon, do, without reſtraint, the very ſame things that they would have enjoined.

Our Trimmer thinks that the king and kingdom ought to be one creature, not to be ſeparated in their political capacity; and when either of them undertake to act apart, it is like the crawling of worms after they are cut in pieces; which cannot be a laſting motion, the whole creature not ſtirring at a time. If the body has a dead palſy, the head cannot make it move; and God hath not delegated ſuch a healing power to princes, as that they can in a moment ſay to a languiſhing people, oppreſſed and in deſpair, Take up our beds, and walk.

The figure of a king is ſo comprehenſive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading him, to lodge that power ſeparately in his own natural perſon, which can never be ſafely or naturally great, but where the people are ſo united to him, as to be fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone: for when he is reduced to the ſingle definition of a man, he ſinks into ſo low a character, that it is a temptation upon mens allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve their duty to him. Whereas a prince who is ſo joined to his people, that they ſeem to be his limbs, rather than his ſubjects; clothed with mercy and juſtice rightly applied in their ſeveral places; his throne ſupported by love, as well as by power; and the warm wiſhes of his devoted ſubjects, like never-failing incenſe, ſtill aſcending towards him, looks ſo like the beſt image we can frame to ourſelves of God Almighty, that men would have much ado not to fall down and worſhip him; and would be much more tempted to the ſin of idolatry, than to that of diſobedience.

Our Trimmer is of opinion, That there muſt be ſo much dignity inſeparably annexed to the royal function, as may be ſufficient to ſecure it from inſolence and contempt; and there muſt be condeſcenſions from the throne, like kind ſhowers from heaven, that the prince may look ſo much the more like God Almighty's deputy upon earth: for power, without love, hath a terrifying aſpect; and the worſhip which is paid to it, is like that which the Indians give out of fear to wild beaſts and devils. He that fears God only becauſe there is an hell, muſt wiſh there were no God; and he who fears the king only becauſe he can puniſh, muſt wiſh there were no king: ſo that without a principle of love, there can be no true allegiance; and there muſt remain perpetual ſeeds of reſiſtance againſt a power that is built upon ſuch an unnatural foundation, as that of fear and terror. All force is a kind of foul play; and whoſoever aims at it himſelf, does by implication allow it to thoſe he plays with; ſo that there will be ever matter prepared in the minds of people, when they are provoked; and the prince, to ſecure himſelf, muſt live in the midſt of his own ſubjects, as if he were in a conquered country; raiſe arms, as if he were immediately to meet or reſiſt an invaſion; and all this while ſleep as unquietly, from fear of the remedies, as he did before from that of the diſeaſe; it being hard for him to forget, that more princes have been deſtroyed by their guards, than by their people; and that even at the time when the rule was, *Quod principi placuit lex eſto*; the armies and Praetorian bands, which were the inſtruments of that unruly power, were frequently the means made uſe of to deſtroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his vicegerents, That God is ſtill above the inſtruments he uſes, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them; but princes can never lodge power in any hands, which may not at ſome time turn it back upon them. For though it is poſſible enough for a king to have power to ſatisfy his ambition; yet no kingdom has money enough to ſatisfy the avarice of under-workmen; who learn from that prince who will exact more than belongs to him, to expect from him much more than they deſerve; and growing angry upon the firſt diſappointment, they are the devils which grow terrible to the conjurers themſelves who brought them up, and cannot ſend them down again: and beſides that, there can be no laſting radical ſecurity, but where the governed are ſatisfied with the governors. It muſt be a dominion very unpleaſant to a prince of an elevated mind, to impoſe an abject and ſordid ſervility, inſtead of receiving the willing ſacrifice of duty and obedience. The braveſt princes, in all times, who were uncapable of any other kind of fear, have feared to grieve their own people: ſuch a fear is a glory, and in this ſenſe it is an infamy not to be a coward. So that the miſtaken heroes, who are void of this generous kind of fear, need no other aggravation to complete their ill characters.

When a deſpotic prince has bruiſed all his ſubjects with a ſlaviſh obedience, all the force he can uſe cannot ſubdue his own fears; enemies of his own creation, to which he can never be reconciled; it being impoſſible to do injuſtice, and not to fear revenge; there is no cure for this fear, but the not deſerving to be hurt; and therefore a prince who does not allow his thoughts to ſtray beyond the rules of juſtice, has always the bleſſing of an inward quiet and aſſurance, as a natural effect of his good meaning to his people; and though he will not neglect due precautions to ſecure himſelf in all events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote ſuſpicions of thoſe, of whom he reſolves never to deſerve ill.

It is very hard for a prince to fear rebellion, who neither does, nor intends to do any thing to provoke it; therefore too great a diligence in the governors to raiſe and improve dangers and fears from the people, is no very good ſymptom, and naturally begets an inference, that they have thoughts of putting their ſubjects allegiance to a trial; and therefore, not without ſome reaſon, fear before-hand, that the irregularities they intend may raiſe men to a reſiſtance.

Our Trimmer thinks it no advantage to a government, to endeavour the ſuppreſſing of all kind of right, which may remain in the body of the people; or to employ ſmall authors in it, whoſe officiouſneſs or want of money may encourage them to write, tho' it is very uneaſy to have abilities equal to ſuch a ſubject: they forget that in their too high-ſtrained arguments for the rights of princes, they very often plead againſt human nature, which will always give a biaſs to thoſe reaſons which ſeem of her ſide. It is the people that read thoſe books, and it is the people that muſt judge of them; and therefore, no maxims ſhould be laid down for the right of government, to which there can be any reaſonable objection; for the world has an intereſt, and for that reaſon is more than ordinary diſcerning to find out the weak ſide of ſuch arguments, as are intended to do them hurt: and it is a diminution to a government to promote or countenance ſuch well-affected miſtakes, which are turned upon it with diſadvantage, whenever they are detected and expoſed; and naturally the too earneſt endeavours to take from men the right they have, tempt them, by the example, to claim that which they have not.

In power, as in moſt other things, the way for princes to keep it, is not to graſp more than their arms can well hold; the nice and unneceſſary enquiring into theſe things, or the licenſing ſome books, and ſuppreſſing ſome others, without ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the doing either, is ſo far from being an advantage to a government, that it expoſes it to the cenſure of being partial, and to the ſuſpicion of having ſome hidden deſigns to be carried on by theſe unuſual methods.

When all is ſaid, there is a natural reaſon of ſtate, an undefineable thing, grounded upon the common good of mankind, which is immortal, and in all changes and revolutions ſtill preſerves its original right of ſaving a nation, when the letter of the law perhaps would deſtroy it; and by whatſoever means it moves, carrieth a power with it that admits of no oppoſition, being ſupported by nature, which inſpires an immediate conſent at ſome critical times into every individual member, to that which viſibly tendeth to the preſervation of the whole; and this being ſo, a wiſe prince, inſtead of controverting the right of this reaſon of ſtate, will, by all means, endeavour it may be of his ſide; and then he will be ſecure.

Our Trimmer cannot conceive that the power of any prince can be laſting, but where it is built upon the foundation of his own unborrowed virtue; he muſt not only be the firſt mover and the fountain from whence the great acts of ſtate originally flow, but he muſt be thought ſo to his people, that they may preſerve their veneration for him; he muſt be jealous of his power, and not impart ſo much of it to any about him, as that he may ſuffer an eclipſe by it.

He cannot take too much care to keep himſelf up; for when a prince is thought to be led by thoſe, with whom he ſhould only adviſe, and that the commands he gives are tranſmitted through him, and are not of his own growth; the world will look upon him as a bird adorned with feathers that are not his own, or conſider him rather as an engine than a living creature: Beſides, it would be a contradiction for a prince to fear a commonwealth, and at the ſame time create one himſelf, by delegating ſuch a power to any number of men near him, as is inconſiſtent with the figure of a monarch. It is the worſt kind of co-ordination the crown can ſubmit to; for it is the exerciſe of power that draws the reſpect along with it; and when that is parted with, the bare character of a king is not ſufficient to keep it up; but though it is a diminution to a prince, to parcel out ſo liberally his power amongſt his favourites, it is worſe to divide with any other man, and to bring himſelf in competition with a ſingle rival: A partner in government is ſo unnatural a thing, that it is a ſquint-eyed allegiance that muſt be paid to ſuch a double-bottomed monarchy. The two czars of Muſcovy are an example, that the more civilized part of the world will not be proud to follow, whatſoever gloſs may be put upon this method by thoſe to whom it may be of ſome uſe; the prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the ſtory of certain men who had ſet up a ſtatue in honour of the ſun, yet in a very little time they turned their backs to the ſun, and their faces to the ſtatue.

Theſe myſtical unions are better placed in the other world, than they are in this; and we ſhall have much a-do to find, that, in a monarchy, God's vicegerency is delegated to more heads than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend ſome of their light to make another ſhine, but they muſt ſtill preſerve the ſuperiority of being the brighter planet; and when it happens that the reverſion is in mens eyes, there is more care neceſſary to keep up the dignity of poſſeſſions, that men may not forget who is king, either out of their hopes or fears who ſhall be. If the Sun ſhould part with all his light to any of the ſtars, the Indians would not know where to find their God, after he had ſo diſpoſed himſelf, and would make the light (where-ever it went) the object of their worſhip.

All uſurpation is alike upon ſovereignty, it is no matter from what hand it comes; and crowned heads are to be the more circumſpect, in reſpect mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is preſent; they love to work at a diſtance; and in their greedy expectations, which their minds may be filled with, of a new maſter, the old one may be left to look a little out of countenance.

Our Trimmer owns a paſſion for liberty, yet ſo reſtrained, that it does not in the leaſt impair or taint his allegiance; he thinks it hard for a ſoul that does not love liberty, ever to raiſe itſelf to another world; he takes it to be the foundation of all virtue, and the only ſeaſoning that gives a reliſh to life; and though the lazineſs of a ſlaviſh ſubjection has its charms for the more groſs and earthy part of mankind, yet to men made of a better ſort of clay, all that the world can give without liberty has no taſte: It is true, nothing is ſold ſo cheap by unthinking men; but that does no more leſſen the real value of it, than a country fellow's ignorance does that of a diamond, in ſelling it for a pot of ale. Liberty is the miſtreſs of mankind, ſhe has powerful charms which do ſo dazzle us, that we find beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other miſtreſſes; yet if ſhe was not a beauty, the world would not run mad for her; therefore, ſince the reaſonable deſire of it ought not to be reſtrained, and that even the unreaſonable deſire of it cannot be entirely ſuppreſſed, thoſe, who would take it away from a people, poſſeſſed of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our Trimmer admires our bleſſed conſtitution, in which dominion and liberty are ſo well reconciled: it gives to the prince the glorious power of commanding freemen, and to the ſubject, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the power ſo lodged, as that their liberties are ſecure; it does not allow the crown ſuch a ruining power, as that no graſs can grow where-ever it treads, but a cheriſhing and protecting power; ſuch a one as hath a grim aſpect only to the offending ſubjects, but is the joy and the pride of all the good ones; their own intereſt being ſo bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and ſupport it: and though in ſome inſtances the king is reſtrained, yet nothing in the government can move without him: our laws make a diſtinction between vaſſalage and obedience, between devouring prerogatives, and a licentious ungovernable freedom; and as of all the orders of building, the compoſite is the beſt; ſo ours, by a happy mixture and a wiſe choice of what is beſt in others, is brought into a form that is our felicity who live under it, and the envy of our neighbour that cannot imitate it.

The crown has power ſufficient to protect our liberties. The people have ſo much liberty, as is neceſſary to make them uſeful to the crown.

Our government is in a juſt proportion; no tympany, no unnatural ſwelling either of power or liberty; and whereas in all overgrown monarchies, reaſon, learning, and enquiry, are hanged in effigy for mutineers; here they are encouraged and cheriſhed, as the ſureſt friends to a government eſtabliſhed upon the foundation of law and juſtice. When all is done, thoſe who look for perfection in this world, may look as the Jews have for their Meſſias; and therefore, our Trimmer is not ſo unreaſonably partial, as to free our government from all objections: no doubt there have been fatal inſtances of its ſickneſs, and more than that, of its mortality for ſome time, though by a miracle it hath been revived again: but till we have another race of mankind, in all conſtitutions that are bounded, there will ever be ſome matter of ſtrife and contention; and rather than want pretenſions, mens paſſions and intereſts will raiſe them from the moſt inconſiderable cauſes.

Our government is like our climate; there are winds which are ſometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the trouble they give us, we owe great part of our health unto them: they clear the air, which elſe would be like a ſtanding pool, and inſtead of refreſhment, would be a diſeaſe unto us.

There may be freſh gales of aſſerting liberty, without turning into ſuch ſtorms of hurricane, as that the ſtate ſhould run any hazard of being caſt away by them: theſe ſtrugglings which are natural to all mixed governments, while they are kept from growing into convulſions, do by a mutual agitation from the ſeveral parts, rather ſupport and ſtrengthen, than weaken or maim the conſtitution; and the whole frame, inſtead of being torn or disjointed, comes to be the better and cloſer knit by being thus exerciſed: but whatever faults our government may have, or a diſcerning critic may find in it, when he looks upon it alone; let any other be ſet againſt it, and then it ſhews its comparative beauty: let us look upon the moſt glittering out-ſide of unbounded authority, and upon a nearer enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable deformity within; let us imagine a prince living in his kingdom, as if in a great galley, his ſubjects tugging at the oar, laden with chains, and reduced to real rags, that they may gain him imaginary lawrels; let us repreſent him gazing among his flatterers, and receiving their falſe worſhip; like a child never contradicted, and therefore always cozened; or like a lady complimented only to be abuſed; condemned never to hear truth, and conſequently never to do juſtice, wallowing in the ſoft bed of wanton and unbridled greatneſs; nor leſs odious to the inſtruments themſelves, than to the objects of his tyranny; blown up into an ambitious dropſy, never to be ſatisfied by the conqueſt of other people, or by the oppreſſion of his own: by aiming to be more than a man, he falls lower than the meaneſt of them; a miſtaken creature ſwelled with panegyrics, and flattered out of his ſenſes, and not only an incumberance, but a nuiſance to mankind; a hardened and unrelenting ſoul, and like ſome creatures that grow fat with poiſons, he grows great by other mens miſeries; an ambitious ape of the divine greatneſs; an unruly giant that would ſtorm even heaven itſelf, but that his ſcaling ladders are not long enough; in ſhort, a wild and devouring creature in rich trappings, and with all his pride, no more than a whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the fire when the world has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it. This picture laid in right colours would not incite men to wiſh for ſuch a government, but rather to acknowlege the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the privileges reaſonable men can deſire, and avoid all the miſeries many others are ſubject to; ſo that our Trimmer would keep it with all its faults; and does as little forgive thoſe who give the occaſion of breaking it, as he does thoſe that take it.

Our Trimmer is a friend to parliaments, notwithſtanding all their faults and exceſſes, which of late have given ſuch matter of objection to them; he thinks that though they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe adminiſtration; he believes no government is perfect except a kind of omnipotence reſide in it, to exerciſe upon great occaſions: now this cannot be obtained by force alone upon people, let it be never ſo great: there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a nation moves only by being driven, a ſluggiſh and conſtrained motion, void of that life and vigour which is neceſſary to produce great things; whereas the virtual conſent of the whole being included in their repreſentatives; and the king giving the ſanction to the united ſenſe of the people, every act, done by ſuch an authority, ſeems to be an effect of their choice, as well as a part of their duty; and they do with an eagerneſs, of which men are uncapable whilſt under a force, execute whatſoever is ſo enjoined, as their own wills better explained by parliament, rather than from the terror of incurring the penalty of the law for omitting it; and by means of this political omnipotence, whatever ſap or juice there is in a nation, may be to the laſt drop produced, whilſt it riſes naturally from the root: whereas all power exerciſed without conſent, is like the giving wounds and gaſhes, and tapping a tree at unſeaſonable times, for the preſent occaſion, which in a very little time muſt needs deſtroy it.

Our Trimmer believes, that by the advantage of our ſituation there can hardly any ſuch ſudden diſeaſe come upon us, but that the king may have time enough left to conſult with his phyſicians in parliament; pretences indeed may be made, but a real neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagined: and it will be neither eaſy to give an inſtance of any ſuch thing for the time paſt, or reaſonable to preſume it will ever happen for the time to come: but if that ſtrange thing ſhould fall out, our Trimmer is not ſo ſtreight-laced, as to let a nation die or be ſtifled, rather than it ſhould be helped by any but the proper officers. The caſes themſelves will bring the remedies along with them; and he is not afraid to allow, that in order to its preſervation, there is a hidden power in government, which would be loſt if it was deſigned; a certain myſtery, by virtue of which a nation may at ſome critical times be ſecured from ruin; but then it muſt be kept as a myſtery: it is rendered uſeleſs when touched by unſkilful hands: and no government ever had, or deſerved to have that power, which was ſo unwary as to anticipate their claim to it. Our Trimmer cannot help thinking it had been better, if the triennial act had been obſerved, becauſe it is the law; and he would not have the crown, by ſuch an example teach the nation to break it: all irregularity is catching; it has a contagion in it, eſpecially in an age ſo much inclined to follow ill patterns than good ones.

He would have a parliament, becauſe it is an eſſential part of the conſtitution, even without the law, it being the only proviſion in extraordinary caſes, in which there would be otherwiſe no remedy; and there can be no greater ſoleciſm in government, than a failure of juſtice.

He would have had one, becauſe nothing elſe can unite and heal us; all other means are mere ſhifts and projects, houſes of cards, to be blown down with the leaſt breath, and cannot reſiſt the difficulties which are ever preſumed in things of this kind; and he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the king good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt without his conſent, which in that caſe is not to be ſuppoſed; and therefore for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the reaſons can never be preſumed to grow in our ſoil, or to thrive in it, when tranſplanted from any other country; and no doubt there are ſuch irreſiſtible arguments for calling a parliament, and though it might be denied to the unmannerly mutinous petitions of men, that are malicious and diſaffected, it will be granted to the ſoft and obſequious murmurs of his majeſty's beſt ſubjects; and there will be ſuch rhetoric in their ſilent grief, that it will at laſt prevail againſt the artifices of thoſe, who, either out of guilt or intereſt, are afraid to throw themſelves upon their country, knowing how ſcurvily they have uſed it; that day of judgment will come, though we know neither the day nor the hour; and our Trimmer would live ſo as to be prepared for it; with full aſſurance in the mean time, that the lamenting voice of a nation cannot long be reſiſted, and that a prince, who could ſo eaſily forgive his people when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The TRIMMER's opinion concerning the PROTESTANT RELIGION.

RELIGION has ſuch a ſuperiority above other things, and that indiſpenſible influence upon all mankind, that it is as neceſſary to our living happy in this world, as it is to our being ſaved in the next: without it man is an abandoned creature, one of the worſt beaſts nature hath produced, and fit only for the ſociety of wolves and bears: therefore in all ages it has been the foundation of government. And though falſe gods have been impoſed upon the credulous part of the world, yet they were gods ſtill in their own opinion; and the awe and reverence men had to them, and their oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the laws with all their authority could never have effected, without the help of religion: the laws would not be able to ſubdue the perverſeneſs of mens wills, which are wild beaſts, and require a double chain to keep them down. For this reaſon it is ſaid, that it is not a ſufficient ground to make war upon a neighbouring ſtate, becauſe they are of another religion, let it be never ſo differing; yet if they worſhipped nor acknowleged any deity at all, they may be invaded as public enemies of mankind, becauſe they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another. The conſideration of religion is ſo twiſted with that of government, that it is never to be ſeparated; and though the foundations of it ought to be eternal and unchangeable, yet the terms and circumſtances of diſcipline are to be ſuited to the ſeveral climates and conſtitutions, ſo that they may keep men in a willing acquieſcence unto them, without diſcompoſing the world by nice diſputes, which can never be of equal moment with the public peace.

Our Religion here in England ſeems to be diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's goodneſs, in permitting it to be introduced, or rather reſtored, by a more regular method, than the circumſtances of moſt other reformed churches would allow them to do, in relation to the government: and the dignity with which it has ſupported itſelf ſince, and the great men our church has produced, ought to recommend it to the eſteem of all proteſtants at leaſt: our Trimmer is very partial to it, for theſe reaſons, and many more; and deſires that it may preſerve its due juriſdiction and authority; ſo far is he from wiſhing it oppreſſed, by the unreaſonable and malicious cavils of thoſe who take pains to raiſe objections againſt it.

The queſtions will then be, how and by what methods this church ſhall beſt ſupport itſelf (the preſent circumſtances conſidered) in relation to diſſenters of all ſorts? I will firſt lay this for a ground, That as there can be no true religion without charity, ſo there can be no true human prudence without bearing and condeſcenſion. This principle does not extend to oblige the church always to yield to thoſe who are diſpoſed to conteſt with her; the expediency of doing it is to be conſidered and determined according to the occaſion: and this leads me to lay open the thoughts of our Trimmer, in reference, firſt, to the Proteſtants, and then to the popiſh recuſants.

What has lately happened among us, makes an apology neceſſary for ſaying any thing, that looks like favour, towards a ſort of men, who have brought themſelves under ſuch a diſadvantage.

The late conſpiracy hath ſuch broad ſymptoms of the diſaffection of the whole party, that upon the firſt reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almoſt perſuade us to put them out of the protection of our good-nature, and to think that the chriſtian indulgence, which our compaſſion for other mens ſufferings cannot eaſily deny, ſeems not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are againſt them, but even becomes a crime when it is ſo miſapplied; yet for all this, upon ſecond and cooler thoughts, moderate men will not be ſo ready to involve a whole party in the guilt of a few; and to admit inferences and preſumptions to be evidence in a caſe, where the ſentence muſt be ſo heavy, as it ought to be againſt all thoſe who have a fixed reſolution againſt the government eſtabliſhed: Beſides, men who act by a principle grounded upon moral virtue, can never let it be clearly extinguiſhed by the moſt repeated provocations. If a right thing, agreeable to nature and good ſenſe, takes root in the heart of a man that is impartial and unbiaſſed, no outward circumſtances can ever deſtroy it. It is true, the degrees of a man's zeal for the proſecution of it may be differing; faults of other men, the conſideration of the public, and the ſeaſonable prudence by which wiſe men will ever be directed, may give great allays; they may leſſen, and for a time perhaps ſuppreſs the exerciſe of that, which in general propoſition may be reaſonable; but ſtill whatever is ſo, will inevitably grow and ſpring up again, having a foundation in nature, which is never to be deſtroyed.

Our Trimmer therefore endeavours to ſeparate the deteſtation of thoſe, who had either a hand or a thought in the late plot, from the principle of prudential, as well as chriſtian charity towards mankind; and for that reaſon would fain uſe the means of reclaiming ſuch of the diſſenters as are not incurable, and even bearing to a degree thoſe that are, as far as may conſiſt with the public intereſt and ſecurity. He is far from juſtifying an affected ſeparation from the communion of the church; and even in thoſe that mean well and are miſtaken, he looks upon it as a diſeaſe that has ſeized upon their minds, very troubleſome as well as dangerous, by the conſequence it may produce. He does not go about to excuſe their making it an indiſpenſible duty, to meet in numbers to ſay their prayers; ſuch meetings may prove miſchievous to the ſtate; at leaſt the laws, which are the beſt judges, have determined that there is danger in them. He has good nature enough to lament, that the perverſeneſs of a part ſhould have drawn rigorous laws upon the whole body of the diſſenters; but when they are once made, no private opinion muſt ſtand in oppoſition to them: if they are in themſelves reaſonable, they are in that reſpect to be regarded, even without being enjoined; and if by the change of time and circumſtances, they ſhould become leſs reaſonable than when they were firſt made; even then they are to be obeyed too, becauſe they are laws till they are mended or repealed by the ſame authority that enacted them.

He has too much deference to the conſtitution of our government, to wiſh for more prerogative declarations in favour of ſcrupulous men, or to diſpenſe with penal laws in ſuch manner, or to ſuch an end, that ſuſpecting men might with ſome reaſon pretend, that ſo hated a thing as perſecution could never make way for itſelf with any hopes of ſucceſs, otherwiſe than by preparing the deluded world by a falſe proſpect of liberty and indulgence. The inward ſprings and wheels, whereby the engine moved, are now ſo fully laid open and expoſed, that it is not ſuppoſable that ſuch a baffled experiment ſhould ever be tried again: the effect it had at the time, and the ſpirit it raiſed, will not eaſily be forgotten; and it may be preſumed, the rememberance of it may ſecure us from any more attempts of that nature for the future. We muſt no more break a law to give men eaſe, than we are to rifle an houſe with a devout intention of giving the plunder to the poor; in this caſe our compaſſion would be as ill directed, as our charity in the other.

In ſhort, the veneration due to the laws is never to be thrown off, let the pretences be never ſo ſpecious: yet with all this he cannot bring himſelf to think, that an extraordinary diligence, to take the uttermoſt penalty of laws upon the poor offending neighbour, is of itſelf ſuch an all-ſufficient virtue, that without any thing elſe to recommend men, it ſhould entitle them to all kind of preferments and rewards: he would not detract from the merits of thoſe who execute the laws; yet he cannot think ſuch a piece of ſervice as this can entirely change the man, and either make him a better divine, or a more knowing magiſtrate than he was before; eſpecially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand, in reference to greater and more dangerous offenders.

Our Trimmer would have thoſe miſtaken men ready to throw themſelves into the arms of the church; and he would have thoſe arms as ready to receive them that ſhall come to us. He would have no ſupercilious look to fright thoſe ſtrayed ſheep from coming into the fold again: no ill-natured maxims of an eternal ſuſpicion, or a belief that thoſe, who have once been in the wrong, can never be in the right again; but a viſible preparation of mind to receive with joy all the proſelytes that come amongſt us, and much greater earneſtneſs to reclaim than puniſh them. It is to be confeſſed, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard taſk enough for the charity of a church ſo provoked; but that muſt not cut off all hopes of being reconciled; yet if there muſt be ſome anger left ſtill, let it break out into a chriſtian revenge; and by being kinder to the children of diſobedience than they deſerve, let the injured church triumph, by throwing ſhame and confuſion of face upon them. There ſhould not always be ſtorms and thunder; a clear ſky would ſometimes make the church look more like heaven, and would do more towards the reclaiming thoſe wanderers, than a perpetual terror, which ſeemed to have no intermiſſion; for there is in many, and particularly in Engliſhmen, a miſtaken pleaſure, in reſiſting the dictates of rigorous authority; a ſtomach that riſeth againſt a hard impoſition, nay, in ſome, raiſe even a luſt in ſuffering from a wrong point of honour, which does not want the applauſe from the greater part of mankind, who have not learnt to diſtinguiſh; conſtancy will be thought a virtue, even where it is a miſtake; and the ill-judging world will be apt to think that opinion moſt right, which produces the greateſt number of thoſe who are willing to ſuffer for it. All this is prevented, and falls to the ground, by uſing well-timed indulgence; and the ſtubborn adverſary, who values himſelf upon his reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſſed, yields inſenſibly to kind methods, when they are applied to him; and the ſame man naturally melts into conformity; who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught, by the compaſſion that attendeth the moſt criminal men when they are condemned, that faults are much more natural things than puniſhments; and that even the moſt neceſſary acts of ſeverity do ſome kind of violence to our nature, whoſe indulgence will not be confined within the ſtrait bounds of inexorable juſtice: ſo that this ſhould be an argument for gentleneſs. Beſides that, it is the likelieſt way to make theſe men aſhamed of their ſeparation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our Trimmer would have the clergy ſupported in their lawful rights, and in all the power and dignity that belongs to them; and yet he thinks that poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great eagerneſs to extend the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which though it may be well intended, yet the ſtraining of it too high has an appearance of ambition that raiſes mens objections to it; and is far unlike the apoſtolic zeal, which was quite otherwiſe employed, that the world draws inferences from it, which do the church no ſervice.

He is troubled to ſee men of all ſides ſick of a calenture of a miſtaken devotion; and it ſeems to him, that the devout fire of fervent charity, with which the primitive chriſtians were inflamed, is long ſince extinguiſhed, and inſtead of it a devouring fire of anger and perſecution breaks out in the world. We wrangle now one with another about religion, till the blood comes; whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete laws or proclamations out of date. He thinks that a nation will hardly be mended by principles of religion, where morality is made a hereſy; and therefore, as he believes devotion miſplaced when it gets into a conventicle, he concludes that loyalty is ſo too, when lodged in a drunken club: thoſe virtues deſerve a better ſeat of empire; and they are degraded, when ſuch men undertake their defence, as have too great need of an apology themſelves.

Our Trimmer wiſhes that ſome knowlege

may go along with the zeal on the right ſide; and that thoſe, who are in poſſeſſion of the pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the authority of the ſcriptures, as they do that of the ſtate. There are many who borrow too often arguments from the government to uſe againſt their adverſaries, and neglect thoſe that are more proper, and would be more powerful. A divine grows leſs, and puts a diminution on his own character, when he quoteth any law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of thoſe who conteſt with him: and it is a ſign of a decayed conſtitution, when nature with good diet cannot expel noxious humours without calling foreign drugs to her aſſiſtance; ſo it looks like want of health in a church, when inſtead of depending upon the power of that truth which it holds, and the good examples of them that teach it, to ſupport itſelf, and to ſuppreſs errors, it ſhould have a perpetual recourſe to the ſecular authority, and even upon the ſlighteſt occaſions.

Our Trimmer has his objections to the too buſy diligence, and to the over-doing of ſome of the diſſenting clergy; and he does as little approve of thoſe of our church, who wear God Almighty's liveries, as ſome old warders in the Tower do the king's, who do nothing in their place but receive their wages for it. He thinks that the liberty of the late times gave men ſo much light, and diffuſed it ſo univerſally amongſt the people, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in ages of leſs enquiry; and therefore, though in ſome well choſen and dearly beloved auditories, good reſolute nonſenſe, backed with authority, may prevail; yet generally men are become ſo good judges of what they hear, that the clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impoſe upon their underſtandings, which are grown leſs humble than they were in former times, when the men in black had made learning ſuch a ſin in the laity, that, for fear of offending, they made a conſcience of being able to read: but now the world is grown ſaucy, and expects reaſons, and good ones too, before they give up their own opinions to other mens dictates, though never ſo magiſterially delivered to them.

Our Trimmer is far from approving the hypocriſy, which ſeems to be the reigning vice amongſt ſome of the diſſenting clergy: he thinks it the moſt provoking ſin men can be guilty of, in relation to heaven; and yet (which may ſeem ſtrange) that very ſin, which ſhall deſtroy the ſoul of the man who preaches, may help to ſave thoſe of the company that hear him; and even thoſe, who are cheated by the falſe oſtentation of his ſtrictneſs of life, may by that pattern be encouraged to the real practice of thoſe chriſtian virtues, which he does ſo deceitfully profeſs: ſo that the deteſtation of this fault may poſſibly be carried on too far by our own orthodox divines, if they think it cannot be enough expreſſed without bending the ſtick another way. A dangerous method, and a worſe extreme for men of that character, who, by going to the utmoſt line of chriſtian liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it. No man does leſs approve the ill-bred methods of ſome of the diſſenters in rebuking authority, who behave themſelves as if they thought ill-manners neceſſary to ſalvation; yet he cannot but diſtinguiſh and deſire a mean between the ſaucineſs of ſome of the Scotch Apoſtles, and the undecent courtſhip of ſome of the ſilken divines, who, one would think, do practiſe to bow at the altar, only to learn to make the better legs at court.

Our Trimmer approves the principles of our church, that dominion is not founded in grace; and that our obedience is to be given to a popiſh king in other things, at the ſame time that our compliance with him in his religion is to be denied: yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing, if a proteſtant church ſhould, by a voluntary election, chuſe a papiſt for their guardian, and receive directions for ſupporting their religion, from one who muſt believe it a mortal ſin not to endeavour to deſtroy it; ſuch a refined piece of breeding would not ſeem to be very well placed in the clergy, who will hardly find precedents to juſtify ſuch an extravagant piece of courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the primitive methods, which ought to be our pattern. He hath no ſuch unreaſonable tenderneſs for any ſorts of men, as to expect their faults ſhould not be impartially laid open, as often as they give occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee, that the ſame man, who ſets up all the ſails of his rhetoric to fall upon diſſenters, when popery is to be handled, he does it ſo gingerly, that he looks like an aſs mumbling of thiſtles; ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe, where he may be in danger of letting his duty get the better of his diſcretion.

Our Trimmer is far from reliſhing the impertinent wanderings of thoſe, who pour out long prayers upon the congregation, and all from their own ſtock; which, God knows, for the moſt part is a barren ſoil, which produces weeds inſtead of flowers: and by this means they expoſe religion itſelf, rather than promote mens devotions. On the other ſide, there may be too great reſtraint put upon men, whom God and nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their fellow-labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier talent, and by giving them not only good-ſenſe, but a powerful utterance too; has enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive auditory with a mighty ſtream of devout and unaffected eloquence: when a man ſo qualified, endued with learning too, and above all, adorned with a good life, breaks out into a warm and well-delivered prayer before his ſermon, it has the appearance of a divine rapture; he raiſes and leads the hearts of the aſſembly in another manner, than the moſt compoſed or beſt ſtudied form of ſet words can ever do; and the pray-wees, who ſerve up all their ſermons with the ſame garniſhing, would look like ſo many ſtatues, or men of ſtraw in the pulpit, compared with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch a powerful zeal, that men are tempted at the moment to believe heaven itſelf has dictated their words to them.

Our Trimmer is not ſo unreaſonably indulgent to the diſſenters, as to excuſe the irregularities of their complaints, and to approve their threatening ſtiles, which are ſo ill ſuited to their circumſtances, as well as their duty: he would have them to ſhew their grief, and not their anger, to the government; and by ſuch a ſubmiſſion to authority as becomes them, if they cannot acquieſce in what is impoſed, let them deſerve a legiſlative remedy to their ſufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redreſs; and either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it by any other method, would not only be vain, but criminal too in thoſe that go about it; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the laws now in force againſt them. The government is in ſome degree anſwerable for ſuch an adminiſtration of them, as may be free from the cenſure of impartial judges; and in order to that, it would be neceſſary that one of theſe methods be purſued, either to let looſe the laws to their utmoſt extent, without any moderation or reſtraint; in which at leaſt the equality of the government would be without objection, the penalties being exacted without remiſſion from the diſſenters of all kinds: or, if that will not be done (and indeed there is no reaſon it ſhould) there is a neceſſity of ſome connivance to the proteſtant diſſenters, to execute that which in humanity muſt be allowed to the Papiſts, even without any leaning towards them, which muſt be ſuppoſed in thoſe who are or ſhall be in the adminiſtration of public buſineſs; and it will follow, that, according to our circumſtances, the diſtribution of ſuch connivance muſt be made in ſuch a manner, that the greateſt part of it may fall on the proteſtant ſide, or elſe the objections will be ſo ſtrong, and the inferences ſo clear, that the friends, as well as the enemies, of the crown, will be ſure to take hold of them.

It will not be ſufficient to ſay, that the Papiſts may be connived at, becauſe they are good ſubjects; and that the proteſtant diſſenters muſt ſuffer, becauſe they are ill ones: theſe general maxims will not convince diſcerning men, neither will any late inſtances make them forget what paſſed at other times in the world: both ſides have had their turns in being good and ill ſubjects; and therefore, it is eaſy to imagine what ſuſpicions would ariſe in the preſent conjuncture, if ſuch a partial argument as this ſhould be impoſed upon us. The truth is, this matter ſpeaks ſo much of itſelf, that it is not only unneceſſary, but it may be unmannerly to ſay any more of it.

Our Trimmer therefore could wiſh, that ſince, notwithſtanding the laws which deny churches to ſay maſs in, even not only the exerciſe, but alſo the oſtentation of popery is as well or better performed in the chapels of ſo many foreign miniſters, where the Engliſh openly reſort in ſpight of proclamations and orders of council, which are grown to be as harmleſs things to them, as the pope's bulls and excommunications are to heretics, who are out of his reach; I ſay, he could wiſh that by a ſeaſonable as well as an equal piece of juſtice, there might be ſo much conſideration had of the proteſtant diſſenters, as that there might be at ſome times, and at ſome places, a veil thrown over an innocent and retired conventicle: and that ſuch an indulgence might be practiſed with leſs prejudice to the church, or diminution to the laws, it might be done ſo as to look rather like a kind omiſſion to enquire more ſtrictly, than an allowed toleration of that which is againſt the rule eſtabliſhed.

Such a ſkilful hand, as this, is very neceſſary in our circumſtances, and the government, by making no ſort of men entirely deſperate, does not only ſecure itſelf from villanous attempts, but lay ſuch a foundation for healing and uniting laws, whenever a parliament ſhall meet, that the ſeeds of differences and animoſities between the ſeveral contending ſides may (heaven conſenting) be for ever deſtroyed.

The TRIMMER's opinion concerning the PAPISTS.

TO ſpeak of popery leads me into ſuch a ſea of matter, that it is not eaſy to forbear launching into it, being invited by ſuch a fruitful theme, and by a variety never to be exhauſted: but to confine it to the preſent ſubject, I will only ſay a ſhort word of the religion itſelf; of its influences here at this time; and of our Trimmer's opinion in relation to our manner of living with them.

If a man would ſpeak maliciouſly of this religion, one may ſay, it is like thoſe diſeaſes, where, as long as one drop of the infection remains, there is ſtill danger of having the whole maſs of blood corrupted by it. In Sweden there was an abſolute cure, and nothing of popery heard of, till queen Chriſtina (whether moved by arguments of this or the other world, may not be good manners to enquire) thought fit to change her religion and country, and to live at Rome, where ſhe might find better judges of her virtues, and leſs ungentle cenſures of thoſe princely liberties, to which ſhe was ſometimes diſpoſed, than ſhe left at Stockholm; where the good breeding is as much inferior to that of Rome in general, as the civility of the religion: The cardinals having reſcued the church from thoſe clowniſh methods the fiſhermen had firſt introduced, and mended that pattern ſo effectually, that a man of that age, if he ſhould now come into the world, would not poſſibly know it.

In Denmark the reformation was entire; in ſome ſtates of Germany, as well as Geneva, the cure was univerſal; but in the reſt of the world where the proteſtant religion took place, the popiſh humour was too tough to be totally expelled; and ſo it was in England, though the change was made with all the advantage imaginable to the reformation; it being countenanced and introduced by legal authority, and by that means, might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other place, if the ſhort reign of Edward the VI, and the ſucceſſion of a popiſh queen, had not given ſuch advantage to that religion, that it has ſubſiſted ever ſince under all the hardſhips that have been put upon it. It has been a ſtrong compact body, and made the more ſo by theſe ſufferings: it was not ſtrong enough to prevail, but it was able, with the help of foreign ſupport, to carry on an intereſt which gave the crown trouble, and to make a conſiderable (not to ſay dangerous) figure in the nation. So much as this could not have been done without ſome hopes, nor theſe hopes kept up without ſome reaſonable grounds. In queen Elizabeth's time, the Spaniſh zeal for their religion, and the revenge for 88th, gave warmth to the Papiſts here, and above all, the right of the queen of Scots to ſucceed, was, while ſhe lived, ſufficient to give them a better proſpect of their affairs. In king James's time, their hopes were ſupported by the treaty of the Spaniſh match, and his gentleneſs towards them; which they were ready to interpret more in their own favour, than was either reaſonable or became them: ſo little tenderneſs they have, even when it is moſt due, if the intereſt of their religion comes in competition with it.

As for the late king, though he gave the moſt glorious evidence that ever man did, of his being a Proteſtant; yet by the more than ordinary influence the queen was hought to have over him, and it ſo happenng that the greateſt part of his anger was directed againſt the Puritans, there was ſuch an advantage given to men diſpoſed to ſuſpect, that they were ready to interpret it a eaning towards popery; without which handle it was morally impoſſible, that the ill-affected part of the nation could ever have educed the reſt into a rebellion.

That which helped to confirm many well-meaning men in their miſapprehenſions of the king, was the long and unuſual inermiſſion of parliaments; ſo that every year, hat paſſed without one, made up a new argument to increaſe their ſuſpicion, and made hem preſume that the Papiſts had a principle hand in keeping them off. This raiſed uch heats in mens minds, to think that men who were obnoxious to the laws, inſtead of being puniſhed, ſhould have credit enough o ſerve themſelves, even at the price of deſtroying the fundamental conſtitution, that it broke out into a flame, which, before it could be quenched, had almoſt reduced the nation to aſhes.

Amongſt the miſerable effects of that unnatural war, none hath been more fatal to us than the forcing our princes to breathe in another air, and to receive the early impreſſions of a foreign education. The barbarity of the Engliſh towards the king and the royal family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleneſs at leaſt towards a religion by which he was hoſpitably received, at the ſame time that he was thrown off and perſecuted by the Proteſtants (though his own ſubjects) to aggravate the offence. The queen-mother (as generally ladies do with age) grew moſt devout and earneſt in her religion; and beſides the temporal rewards of getting larger ſubſidies from the French clergy, ſhe had motives of another kind, to perſuade her to ſhew her zeal; and ſince by the Roman diſpenſatory, a ſoul converted to the church is a ſovereign remedy, and lays up a mighty ſtock of merit, ſhe was ſolicitous to ſecure herſelf in all events, and therefore, firſt ſet upon the duke of Glouceſter, who depended ſo much upon her goodwill, that ſhe might for that reaſon have been induced to believe the conqueſt would not be difficult; but it ſo fell out, that he either from his own conſtancy, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherwiſe adviſed, choſe rather to run away from her importunity, than by ſtaying to bear the continual weight of it. It is believed ſhe had better ſucceſs with another of her ſons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our religion, at leaſt ſuch beginnings were made, as made them very eaſy to be finiſhed: his being of a generous and aſpiring nature, and in that reſpect leſs patient in the drudgery of arguing, might probably help to recommend a church to him, that exempts the laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (though by miſtake) look upon that religion as more favourable to the enlarged power of kings; a conſideration which might have its weight with a young prince in his warm blood, and that was brought up in arms.

I cannot hinder myſelf from a ſmall digreſſion, to conſider with admiration, that the old lady of Rome, with all her wrinkles, ſhould yet have the charms able to ſudue great princes: ſo far from handſome, and yet ſo imperious; ſo painted, and yet ſo pretending; after having abuſed, depoſed, and murdered, ſo many of her lovers, ſhe ſtill finds others glad and proud of their new chains. A thing ſo ſtrange to indifferent judges, that thoſe, who will allow no other miracles in the church of Rome, muſt needs grant that this is one not to be conteſted: ſhe ſits in her ſhop, and ſells at dear rates her rattles and her hobby-horſes, whilſt the deluded world ſtill continues to furniſh her with cuſtomers.

But whither am I carried by this contemplation? It is high time to return to my text, and to conſider the wonderful manner of the king's coming home again, led by the hand of heaven, and called by the voice of his own people; who received him, if poſſible, with joys equal to the bleſſing of peace and union, which his reſtoration brought along with it. By this there was an end put to the hopes ſome might have abroad, of making uſe of his leſs happy circumſtances to throw him into foreign intereſts and opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our religion, our laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this, ſome of thoſe tinctures and impreſſions might ſo far remain, as though they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects here, by ſoftening the animoſity, which ſeems neceſſary to the defender of the proteſtant faith, in oppoſition to ſuch a powerful and irreconcilable an enemy.

You may be ſure, that among all the ſorts of men who applied themſelves to the king at his firſt coming home for his protection, the Papiſts were not the laſt, nor, as they fain would have flattered themſelves, the leaſt welcome, having their paſt ſufferings, as well as their preſent profeſſions, to recommend them: and there was ſomething that looked like a particular conſideration of them, ſince it ſo happened that the indulgence promiſed to diſſenters at Breda, was carried on in ſuch a manner, that the Papiſts were to divide with them; and though the parliament, notwithſtanding its reſignation to the crown in all things, rejected with ſcorn and anger a declaration framed for this purpoſe; yet the birth and ſteps of it gave ſuch an alarm, that mens ſuſpicions, once raiſed, were not eaſily laid aſleep again.

To omit other things; the breach of the triple league, and the Dutch war with its appurtenances, carried jealouſies to the higheſt pitch imaginable, and fed the hopes of one party, and the fears of the other, to ſuch a degree, that ſome critical revolutions were generally expected, when the ill ſucceſs of that war, and the ſacrifice France thought fit to make of the Papiſts here to their own intereſts abroad, gave them another check; and the act of enjoining the teſt to all in offices, was thought to be no ill bargain to the nation, though bought at the price of 1200000 pound, and the money applied to continue the war againſt the Dutch, than which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approved. Notwithſtanding the diſcouragements, popery is a plant that may be mowed down, but the root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the laws it will ſprout up and grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be men in power, who, in weeding it out of our garden, will take care to cheriſh and keep it alive; and though the laws for excluding them from places of truſt were tolerably kept, as to their outward form; yet there were many circumſtances, which being improved by the quick-ſighted malice of ill-affected men, did help to keep up the world in their ſuſpicions, and to blow up jealouſies to ſuch a height, both in and out of parliament, that the rememberance of them is very unpleaſant, and the example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hoped nothing in our age like it will be re-attempted. But to come cloſer to the caſe in queſtion; in this condition we ſtand with the Papiſts; what ſhall now be done, according to our Trimmer's opinion, in order to the better bearing this grievance? ſince, as I have ſaid before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; Papiſts we muſt have among us; and if their religion keep them from bringing honey to the hive, let the government try, at leaſt by gentle means, to take away the ſting from them. The firſt foundation to be laid is, That a diſtinct conſideration is to be had of the popiſh clergy, who have ſuch an eternal intereſt againſt all accommodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their ſtomachs have been ſet for it ever ſince the reformation; they have pinned themſelves to a principle that admits no mean; they believe Proteſtants will be damned; and therefore by an extraordinary effect of chriſtian charity, they would deſtroy one half of England, that the other might be ſaved. Then for this world, they muſt be in poſſeſſion for God Almighty, to receive his rents for him, not to account till the day of judgment; which is a good kind of tenure;

and ye cannot well blame the good men that will ſtir up the laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them reſtored. What is it to the prieſt, if the deluded zealot undoes himſelf in the attempt? He ſings maſſes as jollily, and with as good a voice at Rome or St. Omers, as ever he did; is a ſingle man, and can have no wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupplied; yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible, or ungrateful to thoſe that are his martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a grant *ſub annulo piſcatoris,* that the good man, by being changed, has got a good bargain, and ſaved the ſingeing of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in purgatory. There is no cure for this order of men, no expedient to be propoſed; ſo that though the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws againſt them may in ſome ſort be mitigated, yet no treaty can be made with men, who in this caſe have left themſelves no free-will, but are ſo muffled by zeal, tied by vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable maxims of the prieſthood, that they are to be left as deſperate patients, and looked upon as men that will continue in an eternal ſtate of hoſtility, till the nation is entirely ſubdued to them. It is then only the Lay-Papiſts that are capable of being treated with; and we are to examine of what temper they are, and what arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how far it is adviſeable for the government to be indulgent to them. The Lay-Papiſts generally keep their religion, rather becauſe they will not break company with thoſe of their party, than out of any ſettled zeal that hath root in them: moſt of them do, by the mediation of the prieſts, marry amongſt one another, to keep up an ignorant poſition by hearing only one ſide; others, by a miſtake, look upon it as the eſcutcheon of the more ancient religion of the two: and as ſome men of a good pedigree will deſpiſe meaner men, though never ſo much ſuperior to them by nature; ſo theſe undervalue reformation as an upſtart, and think there is more honour in ſupporting an old error, than in embracing what ſeems to them to be a new truth. The laws have made them men of pleaſure, by excluding them from public buſineſs; and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſuaded by arguments of eaſe and conveniency to them: they have not put off the man in general, nor the Engliſhman in particular; thoſe who in the late ſtorm againſt them went into other countries, though they had all the advantage that might recommend them to a good reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with ſecurity. There is a ſmell in our native earth, better than all the perfumes in the Eaſt; there is ſomething in a mother, though never ſo angry, that the children will more naturally truſt her, than the ſtudied civilities of ſtrangers, let them be never ſo hoſpitable; therefore, it is not adviſable, nor agreeing with the rules of governing prudence, to provoke men by hardſhips to forget that nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our ſide.

When theſe men, by fair uſage, are put again into their right ſenſes, they will have quite differing reflections from thoſe which rigor and perſecution had raiſed in them. A Lay-Papiſt will firſt conſider his abbey-lands, which, notwithſtanding whatever has or can be alleged, muſt ſink conſiderably in the value, the moment that popery prevails: and it being a diſputable matter, whether zeal might not in a little time get the better of the law in that caſe; a conſidering man will admit that as an argument to perſuade him to be content with things as they are, rather than run this, or any other hazard by change; in which perhaps he may have no other advantage, than that his now humble confeſſor may be raiſed to a biſhopric, and from thence look down ſuperciliouſly upon his patron; or, which is worſe, run to take poſſeſſion for God Almighty of his abbey, in ſuch a manner, as the uſurping landlord (as he will then be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a tenant to his own lands, leſt his title ſhould prejudge that of the church, which will then be the language. He will think what diſadvantage it is to be looked upon as a ſeparate creature, depending upon a foreign intereſt and authority, and for that reaſon expoſed to the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of his countrymen: he will reflect what incumberance it is to have his houſe a paſture for hungry prieſts to graze in, which have ſuch a never-failing influence upon the fooliſh, which is the greateſt part of every man's family, that a man's dominion, even over his own children, is mangled and divided, if not totally undermined by them: then to be ſubject to what arbitrary taxes the popiſh convocation ſhall impoſe upon them, for the carrying on the common intereſt of that religion, under penalty of being marked out for half heretics by the reſt of the party. To have no ſhare in buſineſs, no opportunity of ſhewing his own value to the world; to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a dangerous member of the nation where he is born, is a burden to a generous mind, that cannot be taken off by all the pleaſure of a lazy unmanly life, or by the nauſeous enjoyment of a dull plenty, that produceth no good for the mind; which will be conſidered, in the firſt place, by a man that has a ſoul, when he ſhall think, that if his religion, after his wading through a ſea of blood, come at laſt to prevail, it would infinitely leſſen, if not intirely deſtroy the glory, riches, ſtrength and liberty of his own country. And what a ſacrifice is this to make to Rome, where they are wiſe enough to wonder there ſhould be ſuch fools in the world, as to venture, ſtruggle and contend, nay, even die martyrs for that, which, ſhould it ſucceed, would prove a judgment inſtead of a bleſſing to them? He will conclude, that the advantages of throwing ſome of their children back again to God Almighty, when they have too many of them, are not equal to the inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their ſeparation from the religion eſtabliſhed.

Temporal things will have their weight

n the world; and though zeal may prevail or a time, and get the better in a ſkirmiſh, yet the war ends generally on the ſide of leſh and blood, and will do ſo till mankind s another thing than it is at preſent: and therefore, a wiſe Papiſt in cold blood, conſidering theſe and many other circumſtances, which it will be worth his pains to ſee, if he can unmuffle himſelf from the maſk of infallibility, will think it reaſonable to ſet his impriſoned ſenſes at liberty, and that he has a right to ſee with his own eyes, hear with his own ears, and judge by his own reaſon; the conſequence of which might probably be, that weighing things in a right ſcale, and ſeeing them in their true colours, he would diſtinguiſh between the merit of ſuffering for a good cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniencies upon himſelf; and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinced, that our proteſtant creed may make him happy in the other world, and the eaſier in this. A few of ſuch wiſe proſelytes would by their example draw ſo many after them, that the party would inſenſibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we ſhould come to an union, that all good men would have reaſon to rejoice at: but we are not to preſume upon theſe converſions, without preparing men for them by kind and reconciling arguments; nothing is ſo againſt our nature, as to believe thoſe can be in the right who are too hard upon us. There is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our eye while the ſmart continues; and a man muſt have an extraordinary meaſure of grace, to think well of a religion that reduces him and his family to miſery. In this reſpect, our Trimmer would conſent to the mitigation of ſuch laws as were made (as it is ſaid king Henry VIII. got queen Elizabeth) in a heat againſt Rome. It may be ſaid, that even ſtates as well as private men are ſubject to paſſion: A juſt indignation of a villanous attempt produces at the ſame time ſuch remedies, as perhaps are not without ſome mixture of revenge; and therefore, though time cannot repeal a law, it may by a natural effect ſoften the execution of it. There is leſs danger to rouze a lion when at reſt, than to awake laws that were intended to have their time of ſleeping; nay, more than that, in ſome caſes their natural periods of life, dying of themſelves, without the ſolemnity of being revoked any otherwiſe than by the common conſent of mankind, who do ceaſe to execute, when the reaſons in great meaſure fail, that firſt created and juſtified the rigor of ſuch unuſual penalties.

Our Trimmer is not eager to pick out ſome places in hiſtory againſt this or any other party; quite contrary, is very ſolicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an agreement; but to preſcribe the means of this gentleneſs, ſo as to make it effectual, muſt come from the only place that can furniſh remedies for this cure, *viz.* a parliament. In the mean time it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual calmneſs of mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the match that was to blow up the king and both houſes in the gunpowder treaſon, or to ſtart at every appearance of popery, as if it were juſt taking poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, let not the Papiſts ſuffer themſelves to be led by any hopes, though never ſo flattering, to a confidence or oſtentation, which muſt provoke men to be leſs kind to them: let them uſe modeſty on their ſide, and the Proteſtants indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an overlooking of all venial faults, a tacit connivance at all things that do not carry ſcandal with them; which would amount to a kind of natural diſpenſation with the ſevere laws, ſince there would be no more accuſers to be found, when the occaſions of anger and animoſity are once removed. Let the Papiſts in the mean time remember, that there is a reſpect due from all leſſer numbers to greater; a deference to be paid by an opinion that is exploded, to one that is eſtabliſhed: ſuch a thought, well digeſted, will have an influence upon their behaviour, and produce ſuch a temper, as muſt win the moſt eager adverſaries out of their ill-humour to them, and give them a title to all the favour that may be conſiſtent with the public peace and ſecurity.

The TRIMMER's opinion in relation to things abroad.

THE world is ſo compoſed, that it is hard, if not impoſſible, for a nation not to be a great deal involved in the fate of their neighbours; and though by the felicity of our ſituation we are more independent than any other people, yet we have in all ages been concerned for our own ſakes in the revolutions abroad. There was a time when England was the over-balancing power of Chriſtendom, and that either by inheritance or conqueſt, the better part of France received laws from us. After that, we being reduced into our own limits, France and Spain became the rivals for the univerſal monarchy; and our third power, though in itſelf leſs than either of the other, happened to be ſuperior to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the ſcales on that ſide to which we gave our friendſhip. I do not know whether this figure did not make us as great as our former conqueſt, to be a perpetual umpire of two great contending powers, who gave us all their courtſhip, and offered all their incenſe at our altar, whilſt the fate of either prince ſeemed to depend upon the oracles we delivered. For the king of England to ſit on his throne, as in the ſupreme court of juſtice, to which the two great monarchs appeal, pleading their cauſe, and expecting their ſentence, declaring which ſide was in the right, or at leaſt, if we pleaſed, which ſide ſhould have the better of it, was a piece of greatneſs which was peculiar to us; and no wonder if we endeavour to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable time, it being our ſafety, as well as glory, to maintain it: but by a fatality upon our councils, or by the refined policy of this latter age, we have thought fit to uſe induſtry to deſtroy this mighty power, which we have ſo long enjoyed; and that equality between the two monarchs, which we might for ever have preſerved, has been chiefly broken by us, whoſe intereſt it was above all others to maintain it: when one of them, like the overflowing of the ſea, had gained more upon the other than our convenience, or indeed our ſafety, would allow; inſtead of mending the banks, or making new ones, we ourſelves with our own hands helped to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther inundation. France and Spain have had their ſeveral turns in making uſe of our miſtakes; and we have been formerly as deaf to the inſtances of the then weaker part of the world, to help them againſt the houſe of Auſtria, as we can now be to the earneſtneſs of Spain that we would aſſiſt them againſt the power of France. Gundomar was as ſaucy, and as powerful too in king James's court, as any French ambaſſador can have been at any time ſince, when men talked as wrong then on the Spaniſh ſide, and made their court by it, as well as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the French; ſo that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a wiſe balance the power of either crown, it looks as if we had learnt only to weigh the penſions, and take the heavieſt.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong ſteps; ſo that I will go no farther than the king's reſtoration, at which time the balance was on the ſide of France; and that by the means of Cromwell, who, for a ſeparate intereſt of his own, had ſacrificed that of the nation, by joining with the ſtronger ſide to ſuppreſs the power of Spain, which he ought to have ſupported. Such a method was natural enough to an uſurper, and ſhewed he was not the lawful father of the people, by his having ſo little care of them; and the example coming from that hand, one would think ſhould for that reaſon be leſs likely to be followed. But to go on; home comes the king, followed with courtſhips from all nations abroad, of which ſome did it not only to make them forget how familiarly they had uſed him when he was in other circumſtances, but to beſpeak the friendſhip of a prince, who, beſides his other greatneſs, was yet more conſiderable by being re-eſtabliſhed by the love of his people. France had an intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good-will, or at leaſt to put us into ſuch a condition, that we might give no oppoſition to their deſigns: and Flanders being a perpetual object in their eye, a laſting beauty for which they have an incurable paſſion; and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditated to commit a rape upon her, which they thought would not be eaſy to do, while England and Holland were agreed to reſcue her, whenever they ſhould hear her cry out for help to them. To this end they put in practice ſeaſonable and artificial whiſpers, to widen things between us and the States. Amboyna and the fiſhery muſt be talked of here; the freedom of the ſeas, and the preſervation of trade muſt be inſinuated there: and there being combuſtible matter on both ſides, in a little time it took fire, which gave thoſe that kindled it ſufficient cauſe to ſmile and hug themſelves, to ſee us both fall into the net they had laid for us. And it is obſervable, and of good example to us, if we will take it, that their deſign being to ſet us together at cuffs to weaken us, they kept themſelves lookers on, till our victories began to break the balance: then the king of France, like a wiſe prince, was reſolved to ſupport the beaten ſide, and would no more let the power of the ſea, than we ought to ſuffer the monarchy of Europe, to fall into one hand. In purſuance to this, he took part with the Dutch, and in a little time made himſelf umpire of the peace between us. Some time after, upon pretence of his queen's title to part of Flanders, by right of devolution, he falls into it with a mighty force; for which the Spaniard was ſo little prepared, that he made a very ſwift progreſs, and had ſuch a torrent of undiſputed victory, that England and Holland, though the wounds they had given one another were yet green, being ſtruck with the apprehenſion of ſo near a danger to them, thought it neceſſary, for their own defence, to make up a ſudden league, into which Sweden was taken to interpoſe for a peace between the two crowns.

This had ſo good an effect, that France was ſtopped in its career, and the peace of Aix la Chappelle was a little after concluded. It was a forced put; and though France wiſely diſſembled their inward diſſatisfaction, yet from the very moment they reſolved to unty the triple knot, whatever it coſt them: for his chriſtian majeſty, after his conquering meals, ever riſes with a ſtomach; and he liked the pattern ſo well, that it gave him a longing deſire to have a whole piece. Amongſt the other means uſed for the attain-ing this end, the ſending over the ducheſs of Orleans was not the leaſt powerful: ſhe was a very welcome gueſt here, and her own charms and dexterity, joined with other advantages that might help her perſuaſions, gave her ſuch an aſcendant, that ſhe ſhould hardly fail of ſucceſs. One of the preliminaries of her treaty, though a trivial thing in itſelf, yet was conſiderable in the conſequence; as very ſmall circumſtances often are, in relation to the government of the world. About this time a general humour, in oppoſition to France, had made us throw off their faſhion, and put on veſts, that we might look more like a diſtinct people, and not be under the ſervility of imitation, which ever pays a greater deference to the original, than is conſiſtent with the equality all independent nations ſhould pretend to. France did not like this ſmall beginning of ill humours, at leaſt of emulation, and wiſely conſidering that it is a natural introduction, firſt, to make the world their apes that they may be afterwards their ſlaves; it was thought that one of the inſtructions madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of theſe veſts; which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a moment, like ſo many footmen who had quitted their maſter's livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old ſervice: ſo that the very time of doing it gave a very critical advantage to France, ſince it looked like an evidence of our returning to their intereſt, as well as to their faſhion; and would give ſuch a diſtruſt of us to our new allies, that it might facilitate the diſſolution of the knot, which tied them ſo within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the reſtraint.

But the lady had a more extended commiſſion than this, and without doubt ſhe double-laid the foundation of a new ſtrict alliance, quite contrary to the other in which we had been ſo lately engaged. And of this there were ſuch early appearances, that the world began to look upon us as falling into apoſtacy from the common intereſt. Notwithſtanding all this, France did not neglect at the ſame time to give good words to the Dutch, and even to feed them with hopes of ſupporting them againſt us, when on a ſudden, that never-to-be-forgotten declaration of war againſt them comes out, only to vindicate his own glory, and to revenge the injuries done to his brother in England, by which he became our ſecond in this duel. So humble can this prince be; when at the ſame time he does us more honour than we deſerve, he lays a greater ſhare of the blame upon our ſhoulders, than did naturally belong to us. The particulars of that war, our part in it while we ſtaid in it, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the French to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it neceſſary, and too unwelcome in themſelves to incite me to repeat them; only the wiſdom of France is in this to be obſerved, that when we had made a ſeparate peace, which left them ſingle to oppoſe the united force of the confederates, they were ſo far from being angry, that they would not ſhew ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs; hoping to get as much by our mediation for a peace, as they would have expected from our aſſiſtance in the war, our circumſtances at that time conſidered. This ſeaſonable piece of indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing thoſe neceſſities of ſtate which we gave for our excuſe, was ſuch an engaging method, that it went a great way to keep us ſtill in their chains, when to the eye of the world we had abſolutely broke looſe from them. And by what paſſed afterwards at Nimeguen, tho' the king's neutrality gave him the outward figure of a mediator, it appeared that his inerpoſition was extremely ſuſpected of partiality by the confederates, who upon that ground did both at, and before the concluſion of that treaty, treat his miniſters there with a great deal of neglect in this peace, as well as that in the Pyrenean and Aix la Chapelle. The king of France, at the moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broached his pretenſions upon Aloſt, which were things that if they had been offered by a leſs formidable hand, would have been ſmiled at: but ill arguments, being ſeconded by good armies, carry ſuch a power with them, that naked ſenſe is a very unequal adverſary. It was thought that theſe airy claims were chiefly raiſed with the proſpect of getting Luxemburg for the equivalent; and this opinion was confirmed by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the country of Chimay, that it might be entirely ſurrounded by the French dominions: and it was ſo preſſed, that it might have fallen in a little time, if the king of France had not ſent orders to his troops to retire; and his chriſtian generoſity, which was aſſigned for the reaſon of it, made the world ſmile, ſince it is ſeen how differently his devout zeal works in Hungary: that ſpecious reaſon was in many reſpects ill timed, and France itſelf gave it ſo faintly, that at the very time it looked out of countenance. The true ground of his retiring is worth our obſervation: for at the inſtance of the confederates, offices were done, and memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word Parliament was put into them; that powerful word had ſuch an effect, that even at that diſtance it raiſed the ſiege; which may convince us of what efficacy the king of England's words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his Parliament: it is then that he appears that great figure we ought to repreſent him in our minds; the nation his body, he the head, and joined with that harmony, that every word he pronounces, is the word of a kingdom: ſuch words, as appears by this example, are as effectual as fleets and armies, becauſe they can create them; and without this, his word ſounds abroad like a faint whiſper, that is either not heard, or, which is worſe, not minded. But though France had made this ſtep of forced compliance, it did not mean to leave off the purſuit of their pretenſions; and therefore immediately propoſed the arbitration to the king; but it appeared, that notwithſtanding his merit towards the confederates in ſaving

Luxemburg, the rememberances of what had paſſed before, had left ſuch an ill taſte in their mouths, that they could not reliſh our being put into a condition to diſpoſe of their intereſts; and therefore declined it, by inſiſting upon a general treaty, to which France has ever ſince continued to be averſe. Our great earneſtneſs alſo to perſuade the confederates to conſent to it, was ſo unuſual, and ſo ſuſpicious a method, that it might naturally make them believe, that France ſpake to them by our mouth; and for that reaſon, if there had been no other, might hinder the accepting it: and ſo little care hath been taken to cure this, or other jealouſies the confederates may have entertained, that, quite contrary, their miniſters here every day take freſh alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmall, as well as in great circumſtances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehenſions of this kind, draw ſuch inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us.

Thus we now ſtand, far from being innocent ſpectators of our neighbour's ruin, and by a fatal miſtake forgetting what a certain forerunner it is to our own. And now it is time our Trimmer ſhould tell ſomething of his opinion upon this preſent ſtate of things abroad. He firſt profeſſes to have no biaſs, either for or againſt France, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the intereſt of his own country. He allows, and has read that Spain uſed the ſame methods when it was in its height, as France doth now; and therefore, it is not partiality that moves him, but the juſt fear which all reaſonable men muſt be poſſeſſed with, of an over-growing power. Ambition is a devouring beaſt; when it has ſwallowed one province, inſtead of being cloyed, it has ſo much the greater ſtomach to another; and being fed, becomes ſtill the more hungry: ſo that for the confederates to expect a ſecurity from any thing but their own united ſtrength, is a moſt miſerable fallacy: and if they cannot reſiſt the encroachments of France by their arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preſervation: it would have the better grace, beſides the ſaving ſo much blood and ruin, to give up all at once; make a preſent of themſelves to appeaſe this haughty monarch, rather than be whiſpered, flattered, or cozened out of their liberty. Nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt applications of a greater prince to engage a weaker; but that ſmiling countenance is but a vizard, it is not the true face; for as ſoon as their turn is ſerved, the courtſhip flies to ſome other prince or ſtate, where the ſame part is to be acted over again; leaves the old miſtaken friend to neglect and contempt, and like an inſolent lover to a caſt-off miſtreſs, reproaches her of that infamy of which he himſelf was the author. Sweden, Bavaria, Palatine, etc. may, by their freſh examples, teach other princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what ſnakes are hid under the flowers the court of France ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they can be uſeful. The various methods and deep intrigues, with the differing notes in ſeveral countries, do not only give ſuſpicion, but aſſurance that every thing is put in practice, by which univerſal monarchy may be obtained. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his troops from Luxemburg, in conſideration of the war in Hungary, which was not then declared; and preſently after encouraging the Turk to take Vienna, and conſequently to deſtroy the empire? Or who can think that the perſecution of the poor Proteſtants of France will be accepted of God, as an atonement for hazarding the loſs of the whole chriſtian faith? Can he be thought in earneſt, when he ſeemed to be afraid of the Spaniards, and for that reaſon muſt have Luxemburg; and that he cannot be ſafe from Germany, unleſs he is in poſſeſſion of Strasburg? All injuſtice and violence muſt in itſelf be grievous, but the aggravations of ſupporting them by falſe arguments and inſulting reaſons, has ſomething in it yet more provoking than the injuries themſelves; and the world has ground enough to apprehend, from ſuch a method of arguing, that even their ſenſes are to be ſubdued, as well as their liberties. Then the variety of arguments uſed by France, in ſeveral countries, is very obſervable. In England and Denmark, nothing inſiſted on but the greatneſs and authority of the crown: on the other ſide, the great men in Poland are commended, who differ in opinion with the king; and they argue like friends to the privilege of the diet, againſt the ſeparate power of the crown. In Sweden, they are troubled that the king ſhould have changed ſomething there of late, by his ſingle authority, from the ancient and ſettled authority and conſtitutions. At Ratisbon, the moſt chriſtian majeſty taketh the liberties of all the electors and free ſtates into his protection; and tells them the emperor is a dangerous man, an aſpiring hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to reſiſt him on their behalf. But above all, in Holland he has the moſt obliging tenderneſs for the commonwealth, and is in ſuch diſquiets leſt it ſhould be invaded by the prince of Orange, that they can do no leſs in gratitude than undo themſelves when he bids them, to ſhow how ſenſible they are of his exceſſive good-nature; yet in ſpight of all theſe contradictions, there are in the world ſuch refined ſtateſmen, as will upon their credit affirm the following paradoxes to be real truth: Firſt, That France alone is ſincere and keeps its faith, and conſequently that it is the only friend we can rely upon. That the king of France, of all men living, has the leaſt mind to be a conqueror: that he is a ſleepy, tame creature, void of all ambition, a poor kind of a man, that has no farther thoughts than to be quiet: that he is charmed by his friendſhip to us, that it is impoſſible he ſhould ever do us hurt; and therefore, though Flanders was loſt, it would not in the leaſt concern us. That he would fain help the crown of England to be abſolute; which would be to take pains to put it into a condition to oppoſe him, as it is, and muſt be our intereſt, as long as he continues in ſuch an over-balancing power and greatneſs.

Such a creed as this, if once received, might prepare our belief for greater things: and as he that taught men to eat a dagger, began firſt with a penknife; ſo if we can be prevailed with to digeſt the ſmaller miſtakes, we may at laſt make our ſtomachs ſtrong enough for that of tranſubſtantiation. Our Trimmer cannot eaſily be converted out of his ſenſes by theſe ſtate-ſophiſters; and yet he has no ſuch peeviſh obſtinacy, as to reject all correſpondence with France, becauſe we ought to be apprehenſive of the too great power of it. He would not have the king's friendſhip to the confederates, extended to the involving him in any unreaſonable or dangerous engagements; neither would he have him lay aſide the conſideration of his better eſtabliſhment at home, out of his exceſſive zeal to ſecure his allies abroad. But ſure there might be a mean between theſe two oppoſite extremes; and it may be wiſhed, that our friendſhip with France ſhould at leaſt be ſo bounded, that it may conſiſt with the humour as well as the intereſt of England. There is no woman but has the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater beauty, becauſe it expoſes her too often to a compariſon that is not advantageous to her: and ſure it may become a prince to be as jealous of his dignity, as a lady can be of her good looks, and to be as much out of countenance, to be thought an humble companion to ſo much a greater power. To be always ſeen in an ill light, to be ſo darkened by the brightneſs of a greater ſtar, is ſomewhat mortifying; and when England might ride admiral at the head of the confederates, to look like the kitching-yatch to the grand Louis, is but a ſcurvy figure for us to make in the map of Chriſtendom. It would riſe up in our Trimmer's ſtomach, if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting parliaments here ſhould be transferred to the crown of France, and that all the opportunities of our own ſettlements at home, ſhould give way to their projects abroad; and that our intereſts ſhould be ſo far ſacrificed to our compliance, that all the omnipotence of France can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he ſhrinks at the diſmal proſpect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when France has gathered all the fruit ariſing from our miſtakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the tree, and throw it into the fire. For all this while, ſome ſuperfine ſtateſmen, to comfort us, would fain perſuade the world, that this or that accident would ſave us; and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon chance, not conſidering that fortune is wiſdom's creature, and that God Almighty loves to be on the wiſeſt as well as as the ſtrongeſt ſide: therefore, this is ſuch a miſerable ſhift, ſuch a ſhameful evaſion, that they would be laughed to death for it, if the ruining conſequence of this miſtake did not more diſpoſe men to rage and a deteſtation of it.

Our Trimmer is far from idolatry in other things; in one thing only he comes near it, his country is in ſome degree his idol: he does not worſhip the Sun, becauſe it is not peculiar to us, it rambles about the world, and is leſs kind to us than others; but for the earth of England, though perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is divinity in it; and he would rather die, than ſee a piece of Engliſh graſs trampled down by a foreign treſpaſſer. He thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all plants are apt to taſte of the ſoil in which they grow; and we that grow here, have a root that produces in us a ſtalk of Engliſh juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infuſion: and I do not know whether any thing leſs will prevail, than the modern experiment, by which the blood of one creature is tranſmitted into another; according to which, before the French can be let into our bodies, every drop of our own muſt be drawn out of them.

Our Trimmer cannot but lament, that by a ſacrifice too great for one nation to another, we ſhould be like a rich mine, made uſeleſs only for want of being wrought; and that the life and vigor, which ſhould move us againſt our enemies, is miſerably applied to tear our own bowels: that being made by our happy ſituation not only ſafer, but if we pleaſe greater too, than other countries which far exceed us in extent: that having courage by nature, learning by induſtry, and riches by trade, we ſhould corrupt all theſe advantages, ſo as to make them inſignificant; and by a fatality which ſeems peculiar to us, miſplace our active rage one againſt another, whilſt we are turned into ſtatues on that ſide, where lies our greateſt danger; to be unconcerned not only at our neighbour's ruin but our own, and let our iſland lie like a great hulk in the ſea, without rudder or ſail, all the men caſt away in her, or as if we were all children in a great cradle, and rocked aſleep to a foreign tune.

I ſay, when our Trimmer repreſenteth to his mind our roſes blaſted and diſcoloured, whilſt the lillies triumph and grow inſolent upon the compariſon; when he conſiders our own once flouriſhing lawrel, how withered and dying, and nothing left us but a rememberance of a better part in hiſtory than we ſhall make in the next age; which will be no more to us, than an eſcutcheon hung upon our door when we are dead: when he foreſees from hence, growing infamy from abroad, confuſion at home, and all this without the poſſibility of a cure, in reſpect of the voluntary fetters good men put upon themſelves by their allegiance; without a good meaſure of preventing grace, he would be tempted to go out of the world like a Roman philoſopher, rather than endure the burden of life under ſuch a diſcouraging proſpect. But miſtakes, as all other things, have their periods; and many times the neareſt way to cure, is not to oppoſe them, but ſtay till they are cruſhed with their own weight. For nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is violent: violence is a wound, and as a wound muſt be curable in a little time, or elſe it is mortal; but a nation comes near to be immortal, therefore the wound will one time or other be cured, though perhaps by ſuch rough methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the beſt remedies we can prepare, to be at the ſame time a melancholy contemplation to us. There is but one thing (God Almighty's providence excepted) to ſupport a man from ſinking under theſe afflicting thoughts, and that is, the hopes we draw ſingly from the king himſelf, without the mixture of any other conſideration.

Though the nation was laviſh of their kindneſs to him at his firſt coming, yet there remains ſtill a ſtock of warmth in mens hearts for him.

Beſides, the good influences of his happy planet are not yet all ſpent; and though the ſtars of men paſt their youth are generally declining, and have leſs force, like the eyes of decaying beauties, yet by a bleſſing peculiar to himſelf, we may yet hope to be ſaved by his autumnal fortune: he has ſomething about him, that will draw down a healing miracle for his and our deliverance: a prince which ſeems fitted for ſuch an offending age, in which mens crimes have been ſo general, that the forgiving his people has been the deſtroying them: whoſe gentleneſs gives him a natural dominion that hath no bounds, with ſuch a noble mixture of greatneſs and condeſcenſion, an engaging look, that diſarms men of their ill-humours, and their reſentments: ſomething in him that wanteth a name, and can be no more defined than it can be reſiſted: A gift of heaven, of its laſt finiſhing, where it will be peculiarly kind: the only prince in the world that dares be familiar, or that has right to triumph over thoſe forms which were firſt invented to give awe to thoſe who could not judge, and to hide defects from thoſe that could. A prince that has exhauſted himſelf by his liberality, and endangered himſelf by his mercy; who out-ſhines, by his own light and natural virtues, all the varniſh of ſtudied acquiſitions; his faults are like ſhades to a good picture, or like allay to gold, to make it the more uſeful; he may have ſome, but for any man to ſee them through ſo many reconciling virtues, is a ſacrilegious piece of ill-nature, of which no generous mind can be guilty: A prince that deſerves to be loved for his own ſake, even without the help of a compariſon; our love, our duty, and our danger, all join to cement our obedience to him. In ſhort, whatever he can do, it is no more poſſible for us to be angry with him, than with a bank that ſecures us from from the raging ſea, the kind ſhade that hides us from the ſcorching ſun, the welcome hand that reaches us a reprieve, or with the guardian angel, that reſcues our ſouls from the devouring jaws of wretched eternity.

CONCLUSION.

TO conclude; our Trimmer is ſo fully ſatisfied of the truth of theſe principles by which he is directed, in reference to the public, that he will neither be hectored and threatened, laughed nor drunk out of them; and inſtead of being converted by the arguments of his adverſaries to their opinions, he is very much confirmed in his own by them: he profeſſes ſolemnly, that were it in his power to chuſe, he would rather have his ambition bounded by the commands of a great and wiſe maſter, than let it range with a popular licenſe, though crowned with ſucceſs; yet he cannot commit ſuch a ſin againſt the glorious thing called Liberty, nor let his ſoul ſtoop ſo much below itſelf, as to be content, without repining, to have his reaſon wholly ſubdued, or the privilege of acting like a ſenſible creature, torn from him by the imperious dictates of unlimited authority, in what hand ſoever it happens to be placed. What is there in this that is ſo criminal, as to deſerve the penalty of that moſt ſingular apothegm, *A Trimmer is worſe than a rebel?* What do angry men ail, to rail ſo againſt moderation? Does it not look as if they were going to ſome very ſcurvy extreme, that is too ſtrong to be digeſted by the more conſidering part of mankind? Theſe arbitrary methods, beſides the injuſtice of them, are (God be thanked) very unſkilful too; for they fright the birds, by talking ſo loud, from coming into the nets that are laid for them: and when men agree to rifle a houſe, they ſeldom give warning, or blow a trumpet; but there are ſome ſmall ſtateſmen, who are ſo full charged with their own expectations, that they cannot contain.

And kind heaven, by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable curſe upon their undertakings, has made their ignorance an antidote againſt their malice. Some of theſe cannot treat peaceably; yielding will not ſatisfy them, they will have men by ſtorm: there are others that muſt have plots to make their ſervice more neceſſary, and have an intereſt to keep them alive, ſince they are to live upon them; and perſuade the king to retrench his own greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the head of a party, which is the betraying him into ſuch an unprincely miſtake, and to ſuch a wilful diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive: ſuch men, if they could, would prevail with the ſun to ſhine only upon them and their friends, and to leave all the reſt of the world in the dark. This is a very unuſual monopoly, and may come within the equity of the law, which makes it treaſon to impriſon the king: when ſuch unfitting bounds are put to his favour, and he confined to the narrow limits of a particular ſet of men, that would incloſe him; theſe honeſt and only loyal gentlemen, if they may be allowed to bear witneſs for themſelves, make a king their engine, and degrade him into a property, at the very time that their flattery would make him believe they paid divine worſhip to him. Beſides theſe, there is a flying ſquadron on both ſides, that are afraid the world ſhould agree; ſmall dabblers in conjuring, that raiſe angry apparitions to keep men from being reconciled, like waſps that fly up and down, buz and ſting men to keep them unquiet; but theſe inſects are commonly ſhort-lived creatures, and no doubt in a little time mankind will be rid of them. They were giants at leaſt who fought once againſt heaven, but for ſuch pigmies as theſe to contend againſt it, is ſuch a provoking *folly*, that the inſolent bunglers ought to be laughed and hiſſed out of the world for it. They ſhould conſider, there is a ſoul in that great body the people, which may for a time be drowſy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouzed, it moves like an angry creature, and will neither be convinced nor reſiſted: the people can never agree to ſhew their united powers, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it; ſo that to apply cupping-glaſſes to a great beaſt naturally diſpoſed to ſleep, and to force the tame thing, whether it will or no, to be valiant, muſt be learnt out of ſome other book than Machiavel, who would never have preſcribed ſuch a propoſterous method. It is to be remembered, that if princes have law and authority on their ſides, the people on theirs may have nature, which is a formidable adverſary. Duty, juſtice, religion, nay, even human prudence too, bids the people ſuffer any thing rather than reſiſt; but uncorrected nature, where-ever it feels the ſmart, will run to the neareſt remedy. Mens paſſions, in this caſe, are to be conſidered as well as their duty, let it be never ſo ſtrongly enforced; for if their paſſions are provoked, they being as much a part of us as our limbs, they lead men into a ſhort way of arguing, that admits no diſtinction; and from the foundation of ſelf-defence, they will draw inferences that will have miſerable effects upon the quiet of a government.

Our Trimmer therefore dreads a general diſcontent, becauſe he thinks it differs from a rebellion, only as a ſpotted fever does from the plague, the ſame ſpecies under a lower degree of malignity; it works ſeveral ways, ſometimes like a ſlow poiſon that has its effects at a great diſtance from the time it was given; ſometimes like dry flax prepared to catch at the firſt fire, or like ſeed in the ground ready to ſprout up on the firſt ſhower; in every ſhape it is fatal, and our Trimmer thinks no pains or precaution can be ſo great as to prevent it.

In ſhort, he thinks himſelf in the right, grounding his opinion upon that truth, which equally hates to be under the oppreſſions of wrangling ſophiſtry on the one hand, or the ſhort dictates of miſtaken authority on the other.

Our Trimmer adores the goddeſs Truth, tho' in all ages ſhe has been ſcurvily uſed, as well as thoſe that worſhipped her: it is of late become ſuch a ruining virtue, that mankind ſeems to be agreed to commend and avoid it; yet the want of practice, which repeals the other laws, has no influence upon the law of truth, becauſe it has root in heaven, and an intrinſic value in itſelf, that can never be impaired: ſhe ſhews her greatneſs in this, that her enemies, even when they are ſucceſsful, are aſhamed to own it. Nothing but power full of truth has the prerogative of triumphing, not only after victories, but in ſpite of them, and to put conqueſt herſelf out of countenance. She may be kept under and ſuppreſſed, but her dignity ſtill remains with her, even when ſhe is in chains. Falſhood, with all her impudence, has not enough to ſpeak ill of her before her face: ſuch majeſty ſhe carries about her, that her moſt proſperous enemies are fain to whiſper their treaſon; all the power upon the earth can never extinguiſh her: ſhe has lived in all ages; and let the miſtaken zeal of prevailing authority chriſten any oppoſition to it with what name they pleaſe, ſhe makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to perſiſt: ſhe has lived very retired indeed, nay, ſometime ſo buried, that only ſome few of the diſcerning part of mankind could have a glimpſe of her; with all that, ſhe has eternity in her, ſhe knows not how to die, and from the darkeſt clouds that ſhade and cover her, ſhe breaks from time to time with triumph for her friends, and terror to her enemies.

Our Trimmer therefore, inſpired by this divine virtue, thinks fit to conclude with theſe aſſertions; that our climate is a Trimmer, between that part of the world where men are roaſted, and the other where they are frozen: that our church is a Trimmer, between the phrenzy of Platonic viſions, and the lethargic ignorance of popiſh dreams: that our laws are Trimmers, between the exceſs of unbounded power, and the extravagance of liberty not enough reſtrained: that true virtue has ever been thought a Trimmer, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two extremes: that even God Almighty himſelf is divided between his two great attributes, his mercy and his juſtice.

In ſuch company, our Trimmer is not aſhamed of his name, and willingly leaves to the bold champions of either extreme, the honour of contending with no leſs adverſaries than nature, religion, liberty, prudence, humanity, and common ſenſe.

THE

ANATOMY

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I. THE world hath of late years never been without ſome extraordinary Word to furniſh the coffee-houſes, and fill the pamphlets. Sometimes it is a new one invented, and ſometimes an old one revived. They are uſually fitted to ſome preſent purpoſe, with intentions as differing, as the various deſigns ſeveral parties may have, either to delude the people, or to expoſe their adverſaries: they are not of long continuance, but after they have paſſed a little while, and that they are grown nauſeous by being ſo often repeated, they give place to ſomething that is newer. Thus, after Whig, Tory, and Trimmer, have had their time, now they are dead and forgotten, being ſupplanted by the word Equivalent, which reigneth in their ſtead.

The birth of it is in ſhort this: After many repeated eſſays to diſpoſe men to the repeal of oaths and teſts made for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, the general averſion to comply in it was found to be ſo great, that it was thought adviſable to try another manner of attempting it, and to ſee whether by putting the ſame thing into another mould, and ſoftening an harſh propoſition by a plauſible term, they might not have better ſucceſs.

To this end, inſtead of an abſolute quitting of theſe laws without any condition, which was the firſt propoſal; now it is put into gentler language, and runneth thus: *If you will take away the Oaths and Teſts, you ſhall have as good a thing for them.* This put into the faſhionable word, is now called an Equivalent.

II. So much to the word itſelf. I will now endeavour, in ſhort, to examine and explain, in order to the having it fully underſtood.

Firſt, What is the nature of a true Equivalent; and, In the next place, What things are not to be admitted under that denomination.

I ſhall treat theſe as general propoſitions; and though I cannot undertake how far they may be convincing, I may ſafely do it that they are impartial; of which there can be no greater evidence, than that I make neither inference nor application, but leave that part entirely to the reader, according as his own thoughts ſhall direct and diſpoſe him.

III. I will firſt take notice, that this word, by the application which hath been made of it in ſome modern inſtances, lieth under ſome diſadvantage; not to ſay, ſome ſcandal. It is tranſmitted hither from France; and if, as in moſt other things that we take from them we carry them beyond the pattern, it ſhould prove ſo in this, we ſhould get into a more partial ſtile than the principles of Engliſh juſtice will, I hope, ever allow us to be guilty of.

The French king's Equivalents in Flanders, are very extraordinary bargains; his manner of propoſing, and obtaining them, is very differing from the uſual methods of equal dealing. In a latter inſtance, Denmark, by the encouragement as well as by the example of France, hath propoſed things to the duke of Holſtein, which are called Equivalents; but that they are ſo, the world is not yet ſufficiently convinced, and probably the parties concerned do not think them to be ſo, and conſequently do not appear to be at all diſpoſed to accept them. Princes enjoin and preſcribe ſuch things, when they have ſtrength and power to ſupply the want of arguments; and according to practice in theſe caſes, the weaker are never thought to have an ill bargain, if they have any thing left them. So that the firſt qualification of an Equivalent muſt be, that the appraiſers be indifferent, elſe it is only a ſound, there can be nothing real in it: for where the ſame party that propoſeth a bargain, claimeth a right to ſet the value; or, which is worſe, hath power too to make it good, the other may be forced to ſubmit to the conditions, but he can by no means ever be perſuaded to treat upon them.

IV. The next thing to be conſidered is, that to make an Equivalent in reality an equal thing in the propoſer, it muſt be a better thing than that which is required by him; juſt as good is ſubject to the hazard of not being quite ſo good: it is not eaſy to have ſuch an even hand, as to make the value exactly equal. Beſides, according to the maxim in law, *Melior conditio poſſidentis*, the offer is not fair, except the thing offered is better in value than the thing demanded. There muſt be allowance for removing what is fixed, and there muſt be ſomething that may be a juſtification for changing. The value of things very often dependeth more upon other circumſtances, than upon what is merely intrinſic to them: therefore, the calculation muſt be made upon that foot perhaps in moſt caſes; and particularly the want which one of the parties may have of the thing he requireth, maketh it more valuable to him than it is in itſelf. If the party propoſing doth not want the thing he would have in exchange, his requiring it is impertinent: If he doth, his want of it muſt go into the appraiſement; and by conſequence every propoſer of an Equivalent muſt offer a better thing, or elſe he muſt not take it unkindly to be refuſed, except the other party hath an equal want of the ſame thing; which is very improbable, ſince naturally he that wanteth moſt will ſpeak firſt.

V. Another thing neceſſary to the making a fair bargain, is, That let the parties who treat be never ſo unequal in themſelves, yet as to the particular thing propoſed, there muſt be an exact equality; as far as it relateth to the full liberty of taking or refuſing, concurring or objecting, without any conſequence of revenge, or ſo much as diſſatisfaction: for it is impoſſible to treat, where it is an affront to differ; in that caſe there is no mean between the two extremes, either an open quarrel, or an entire ſubmiſſion: the way of bargaining muſt be equal, elſe the bargain itſelf cannot be ſo. For example: the propoſer is not only to uſe equal terms as to the matter, but fair ones in the manner too. There muſt be no intimations of anger in caſe of refuſal, much leſs any open threatening. Such a ſtile is ſo ill ſuited to the uſual way of treating, that it looketh more like a breach of the peace, than the making a bargain. It would be yet more improper, and leſs agreeing with the nature of an Equivalent, if whilſt two men are chaffering about the price, one of them ſhould actually take the thing in queſtion at his own rate, and afterwards deſire to have his poſſeſſion confirmed by a formal agreement: ſuch a proceeding would not only deſtroy that particular contract, but make it impoſſible to have any other with the party that could be guilty of ſuch a practice.

VI. Violence preceding deſtroyeth all contract; and even though the party that offereth it, ſhould have a right to the thing he ſo taketh, yet it is to be obtained by legal means, elſe it may be forfeited by his irregularity in the purſuit of it. The law is ſuch an enemy to violence, and ſo little to be reconciled to it, that in the caſe of a rape, the puniſhment is not taken off, though the party injured afterwards conſenteth. The juſtice of the law hath its eye upon the firſt act, and the maxim of *volenti non fit injuria*, doth not in this caſe help the offender, it being a plea ſubſequent to the crime, which maketh it to be rejected as a thing wrong dated and out of time.

In taking away goods or money, it is the ſame thing. The party robbed, by giving them afterwards to the taker, does not exempt him from the puniſhment of the violence: quite contrary, the man from whom they were taken is puniſhable, if he doth not proſecute. If the caſe ſhould be, that a man, thus taking away a thing without price, claimeth a right to take it, then whether it is well or ill founded is not the queſtion; but ſure the party from whom it is ſo taken, whilſt he is treating to ſell or exchange it, can never make a bargain with ſo arbitrary a chapman, there being no room left after that to talk of the value.

VII. To make an equal bargain, there muſt be a liberty of differing, not only in every thing that is really eſſential, but in every thing that is thought ſo by either party, and moſt eſpecially by him who is in poſſeſſion of the thing demanded: his opinion muſt be a rule to him, and even his miſtake in the value, though it may not convince the man he hath to deal with, yet he will be juſtified for not accepting what is offered, till the miſtake is fairly rectified and overruled.

When a ſecurity is deſired to be changed, that ſide which deſireth it muſt not pretend to impoſe upon the other, ſo as to dictate to them, and tell them without debate, that they are ſafe in what is propoſed, ſince of that, the counſel on the other ſide muſt certainly be the moſt competent judges. The hand it cometh from is a great circumſtance, either to invite or diſcourage in all matters of contract; the qualifications of the party offering muſt ſuit with the propoſition itſelf, elſe let it be never ſo fair, there is ground for ſuſpicion.

VIII. When men are of a temper, that

they think they have wrong done them, if they have not always the better ſide of a bargain; if they happen to be ſuch, as by experience have been found to have an ill memory for their word; if the character they bear doth not recommend their juſtice, where-ever their intereſt is concerned: in theſe caſes thinking men will avoid dealing, not only to prevent ſurprize, but to cut off the occaſions of difficulty or diſpute.

It is yet more diſcouraging, when there are either a precedent practice, or ſtanding maxims of groſs partiality, in aſſuming a privilege of exemption from the uſual methods of equal dealings.

To illuſtrate this by an inſtance: ſuppoſe that in any caſe the church of Rome ſhould have an intereſt to promote a bargain; let her way of dealing be a little examined, which will direct thoſe with whom ſhe treateth, how far they are to rely upon what ſhe propoſeth to them. We may begin with the quality in the world, the leaſt conſiſting with equal dealing, *viz.* an incurable partiality to herſelf; which, that it may arrive to its full perfection, is crowned with infallibility. At the firſt ſetting out, ſhe maketh herſelf uncapable of dealing upon terms of equality, by the power ſhe claimeth of binding and looſing, which hath been ſo often applied to treaties, as well as to ſins.

If the definition of juſtice is to deal equally, ſhe cannot be guilty of it without betraying her prerogative; and according to her principles, ſhe giveth up the ſuperiority derived to her by apoſtolical ſucceſſion, if ſhe degradeth herſelf ſo as to be judged by the rules of common right, eſpecially if the bargain ſhould be with heretics, who, in her opinion, have forfeited the claim they might otherwiſe have had to it.

IX. Beſides, her taſte hath been ſo ſpoiled by unreaſonable bargains, that ſhe can never bring down her palate to any thing that is fair or equal. She hath not only judged it an Equivalent, but a great bargain for the other ſide, to give them abſolutions and indulgence for the real payment of great ſums, for which ſhe hath drawn bills to have them repayed with intereſt in purgatory.

This ſpiritual bank hath carried on ſuch a trade upon theſe advantageous terms, that it can never ſubmit to the ſmall profits an ordinary bargain would produce.

The ſeveral popes have in exchange for the Peter-Pence, and all their other rents and fines out of England, ſent ſanctified roſes, reliques, and other ſuch wonder-work-ing trifles: and by virtue of their character of holy fathers, have uſed princes like children, by ſending them ſuch rattles to play with, which they made them buy at extravagant rates; beſides which, they were to be thankful too into the bargain.

A chip of the croſs, a piece of St. Lawrence's gridiron, a hair of St. Peter, have been thought Equivalents for much more ſubſtantial things. The popes being maſters of the jewel-houſe, have ſet the rates upon them; and they have paſſed, though the whole ſhop would not take up the value of a bodkin in Lombardſtreet upon the credit of them.

They are unconſcionable purchaſers; for they get all the money from the living, by praying for them when they are dead. And it is obſervable, that the northern part of Chriſtendom, which beſt underſtandeth trade, were the firſt that refuſed to make any more bargains with them: ſo that it looketh as if the chief quarrel with the heretics was not as they were ill chriſtians, but as they were unkind merchants, in ſo diſcourteouſly rejecting the commodities of the growth of Rome.

To conclude this head; There is no bartering with infallibility, it being ſo much above equality, that it cannot bear the indignity of a true Equivalent.

X. In all bargains there is a neceſſity of looking back, and reflecting how far a preſent propoſal is reconcilable with a former practice. For example: If at any time a thing is offered, quite differing from the arguments uſed by the propoſer, and inconſiſtent with the maxims held out by him at other times: Or, in a public caſe, if the ſame men who promote and preſs a thing with the utmoſt violence, do in a little time after with as much violence preſs the contrary, and profeſs a deteſtation of the very thing, for which they had before employed all their intereſt and authority: Or, if in the caſe of a law already made, there ſhould be a privilege claimed to exempt thoſe from the obligation of obſerving it, who yet ſhould afterwards deſire and preſs to have a new law made in exchange for the old one, by which they would not be bound; and that they ſhould propoſe a ſecurity by a thing of the very ſame nature as that which they did not allow to be any before: theſe incoherences muſt naturally have the effect of raiſing ſuſpicion; or rather they are a certain proof, that in ſuch circumſtances it is irrational for men to expect an effectual Equivalent.

XI. If whatſoever is more than ordinary is ſuſpicious, every thing that is unnatural is more ſo. It is not only unneceſſary, but unnatural too, to perſuade with violence what it is folly to refuſe; to puſh men with eagerneſs into a good bargain for themſelves, is a ſtile very much unſuitable to the nature of the thing. But it goeth farther, and is is yet more abſurd; to grow angry with men for not receiving a propoſal that is for their advantage. Men ought to be content with the generoſity of offering good bargains, and ſhould give their compaſſion to thoſe who do not underſtand them: but by carrying their good-nature ſo far as to be choleric in ſuch a caſe, they would follow the example of the church of Rome, where the definition of charity is very extraordinary. In her language, the writ de haeretico comburendo is a love-letter; and burning men for differing with them in opinion, howſoever miſcalled cruelty, is, as they underſtand it, the perfection of flaming charity.

When anger, in theſe caſes, laſteth long, it is moſt probable that it is for our own ſakes. Good-nature for others is one of thoſe diſeaſes that is cured by time, and eſpecially where it is offered and rejected; but for ourſelves it never faileth, and cannot be extinguiſhed but with our life. It is fair, if men can believe that their friends love them next to themſelves; to love them better, is too much; the expreſſion is ſo unnatural that it is cloying, and men muſt have no ſenſe, who in this caſe have no ſuſpicion.

XII. Another circumſtance neceſſary to a fair bargain, is, That there muſt be openneſs and freedom allowed, as the effect of that equality which is the foundation of contracting. There muſt be full liberty of objecting, and making doubts and ſcruples: if they are ſuch as can be anſwered, the party convinced is ſo much the more confirmed and encouraged to deal, inſtead of being hindered by them; but if inſtead of an anſwer to ſatisfy, there is nothing but anger for a reply, it is impoſſible not to conclude that there is never a good one to give; ſo that the objection remaining without being fully confuted, there is an abſolute bar put to any further treaty.

There can be no dealing, where one ſide aſſumeth a privilege to impoſe, ſo as to make an offer, and not bear the examination of it: this is giving judgment, not making a bargain. Where it is called unmannerly to object, or criminal to refuſe, the ſureſt way is for men to ſtay where they are, rather than treat upon ſuch diſadvantage.

If it ſhould happen to be in any country, where the governing power ſhould allow men liberty of conſcience in the choice of their religion, it would be ſtrange to deny them liberty of ſpeech in making a bargain. Such a contradiction would be ſo diſcouraging, that they muſt be unreaſonably ſanguine, who in that caſe can entertain the hopes of a fair Equivalent.

XIII. An equal bargain muſt not be a myſtery nor a ſecret; the purchaſer or propoſer is to tell directly and plainly, what it is he intendeth to give in exchange for that which he requireth. It muſt be viewed and conſidered by the other party, that he may judge of the value; for without knowing what it is, he cannot determine whether he ſhall take or leave it. An aſſertion in general, that it ſhall be as good or a better thing, is not in this a ſufficient excuſe for the miſtake of dealing upon ſuch uncertain terms. In all things that are dark and not enough explained, ſuſpicion naturally followeth. A ſecret generally implieth a defect or a deceit; and if a falſe light is an objection, no light at all is yet a greater. To pretend to give a better thing, and to refuſe to ſhew it, is very near ſaying it is not ſo good a one; at leaſt ſo it will be taken in common conſtruction. A myſtery is yet a more diſcouraging thing to a Proteſtant, eſpecially if the propoſition ſhould come from a Papiſt; it being one of his great objections to that church, that there are ſo many of them inviſible and impoſſible, which are ſo violently thruſt upon their underſtandings, that they are overlaid with them. They think that rational creatures are to be convinced only by reaſon, and that reaſon muſt be viſible and freely expoſed, elſe they will think themſelves uſed with contempt inſtead of equality, and will never allow ſuch a ſuſpected ſecrecy to be a fit preface to a real Equivalent.

XIV. In matters of contract, not only the preſent value, but the contingencies and conſequences, as far as they can be fairly ſuppoſed, are to be conſidered. For example: if there ſhould be a poſſibility, that one of the parties may be ruined by accepting, and the other only diſappointed by his refuſing; the conſequences are ſo extremely unequal, that it is not imaginable a man ſhould take that for an Equivalent, which hath ſuch a fatal poſſibility at the heels of it.

If it ſhould happen in a public caſe, that ſuch a propoſal ſhould come from the minor part of an aſſembly or nation to the greater; it is very juſt, that the hazard of ſuch a poſſibility ſhould, more or leſs, likely fall upon the leſſer part, rather than upon the greater; for whoſe ſake and advantage things are, and muſt be calculated in all public conſtitutions. Suppoſe in any mixed government, the chief magiſtrate ſhould propoſe upon a condition, in the ſenate, diet, or other ſupreme aſſembly, either to enact or abrogate one or more laws, by which a poſſibility might be let in of deſtroying their religion and property, which in other language ſignifieth no leſs than ſoul and body; where could be the Equivalent in the caſe, not only for the real loſs, but even for the fear of loſing them? Men can fall no lower than to loſe all; and if loſing all deſtroyeth them, the venturing all muſt fright them.

In an inſtance, when men are ſecure, that how far ſoever they may be over-run by violence, yet they can never be undone by law, except they give their aſſiſtance to make it poſſible, though it ſhould neither be likely nor intended; ſtill the conſequence which may happen, is too big for any preſent thing to make amends for it. Whilſt the word

Poſſible remaineth, it muſt forbid the bargain. Where-ever it falleth out therefore, that in an example of a public nature, the changing, enacting, or repealing a law, may naturally tend to the miſplacing the legiſlative power in the hands of thoſe who have a ſeparate intereſt from the body of a people, there can be no treating, till it is demonſtrably made out, that ſuch a conſequence ſhall be abſolutely impoſſible; for if that ſhall be denied by thoſe who make the propoſal, if it is becauſe they cannot do it, the motion at firſt was very unfair; if they can and will not, it would be yet leſs reaſonable to expect that ſuch partial dealers would ever give an Equivalent fit to be accepted.

XV. It is neceſſary in all dealing to be aſſured, in the firſt place, that the party propoſing is in a condition to make good his offer; that he is neither under any former obligations or pretended claims, which may render him uncapable of performing it; elſe he is ſo far in the condition of a minor, that whatſoever he diſpoſeth by ſale or exchange, may be afterwards reſumed, and the contract becometh void, being originally defective, for want of a ſufficient legal power in him that made it.

In the caſe of a ſtrict ſettlement, where the party is only tenant for life, there is no poſſibility of treating with one under ſuch fetters; no purchaſe or exchange of lands, or any thing elſe, can be good, where there is ſuch an incapacity of making out a title; the intereſt veſted in him being ſo limited, that he can do little more than pronounce the words of a contract, he can by no means perform the effect of it.

In more public inſtances, the impoſſibility is yet more expreſs; as ſuppoſe in any kingdom, where the people have ſo much liberty left them, as that they may make contracts with the crown, there ſhould be ſome peculiar rights claimed to be ſo fixed to the royal function, that no king for the time being could have power to part with them, being ſo fundamentally tied to the office, that they can never be ſeparated. Such rights can upon no occaſion be received in exchange for any thing the crown may deſire from the people: that can never be taken in payment, which cannot lawfully be given; ſo that if they ſhould part with that which is required upon thoſe terms, it muſt be a gift, it cannot be a bargain.

There is not in the whole dictionary a

more untractable word than Inherent, and leſs to be reconciled to the word Equivalent.

The party, that will contract in ſpight of ſuch a claim, is content to take what is impoſſible to grant; and if he complaineth of his diſappointment, he neither can have remedy, nor deſerveth it.

If a right ſo claimed happeneth to be of ſo comprehenſive a nature, as that by a clear inference it may extend to every thing elſe, as well as to the particular matter in queſtion; as often as the ſupreme magiſtrate ſhall be ſo diſpoſed, there can in that caſe be no treating with a prerogative that ſwalloweth all the right the people can pretend to; and if they have no right to any thing of which they are poſſeſſed, it is a jeſt and not a bargain, to obſerve any formality in parting with it.

A claim may be ſo ſtated, that by the power and advantage of interpreting, it ſhall have ſuch a murdering eye, that if it looketh upon a law, like a baſiliſk, it ſhall ſtrike it dead: where is the poſſibility of treating, where *ſuch a right is aſſumed?* Nay, let it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a claim is not well founded in law, and that upon a free diſquiſition it could not be made out; yet even in this caſe, none that are well-adviſed will conclude a bargain, till it is fully ſtated and cleared, or indeed ſo much as engage in a treaty, till by way of preliminary, all poſſibility ſhall be removed of any trouble or diſpute.

XVI. There is a collateral circumſtance in making a contract, which yet deſerveth to be conſidered, as much as any thing that belongeth to it: and that is, the character and figure of the parties contracting, if they treat only by themſelves; and if by others, the qualifications of the inſtruments they employ.

The propoſer eſpecially muſt not be ſo low, as to want credit; nor ſo raiſed, as to carry him above the reach of ordinary dealing. In the firſt there is ſcandal, in the other danger. There is no rule without ſome exception, but generally ſpeaking the means ſhould be ſuited to the end; and ſince all men who treat pretend an equal bargain, it is deſirable that there may be equality in the perſons, as well as in the thing.

The manner of doing things hath ſuch an influence upon the matter, that men may gueſs at the end, by the inſtruments that are uſed to obtain it, who are a very good direction how far to rely upon, or ſuſpect the ſincerity of that which is propoſed. An abſurdity in the way of carrying on a treaty, in any one circumſtance, if it is very groſs, is enough to perſuade a thinking man to break off, and take warning from ſuch an ill appearance. Some things are ſo glaring, that it is impoſſible not to ſee, and conſequently not to ſuſpect them; as ſuppoſe, in a private caſe, there ſhould be a treaty of marriage between two honourable families, and the propoſing ſide ſhould think fit to ſend a woman that had been carted, to perſuade the young lady to an approbation and conſent; the unfitneſs of the meſſenger muſt naturally diſpoſe the other party to diſtruſt the meſſage, and to reſiſt the temptation of the beſt match that could be offered, when conveyed by that hand, and uſhered in by ſuch a diſcouraging preliminary.

In a public inſtance, the ſuſpicion ariſing from unfit mediators ſtill groweth more reaſonable, in proportion as the conſequence is much greater of being deceived. If a Jew ſhould be employed to ſolicit all ſorts of Chriſtians to unite and agree, the contrariety of his profeſſion would not allow men to ſtay till they heard his arguments; they would conclude from his religion, that either the man himſelf was mad, or that he thought thoſe to be ſo, whom he had the impudence to endeavour to perſuade.

Or ſuppoſe an Adamite ſhould be very ſolicitous and active in all places, and with all ſorts of perſons, to ſettle the church of England in particular, and a fair liberty of conſcience for all diſſenters; though nothing in the world has more to be ſaid for it than naked truth; yet if ſuch a man ſhould run up and down without clothes, let his arguments be never ſo good, or his commiſſion never ſo authentic, his figure would be ſuch a contradiction to his buſineſs, that how ſerious ſoever that might be in itſelf, his interpoſition would make a jeſt of it.

Though it ſhould not go ſo far as this, yet if men have contrarieties in their way of living not to be reconciled; as if they ſhould pretend infinite zeal for liberty, and at that time be in great favour, and employed by thoſe who will not endure it:

If they are affectedly ſingular, and conform to the generality of the world in no one thing, but in playing the knave:

If demonſtration is a familiar word with them, moſt eſpecially where the thing is impoſſible:

If they quote authority to ſupply their want of ſenſe, and juſtify the value of their arguments, not by reaſon, but by their being paid for them, (in which, by the way, thoſe who pay them have probably a very melancholy Equivalent:) If they brandiſh a prince's word, like a ſword in a croud, to make way for their own impertinence; and in diſpute, as criminals formerly fled to the ſtatue of the prince for ſanctuary; if they ſhould now, when baffled, creep under the protection of a king's name, where out of reſpect they are no farther to be purſued:

In theſe caſes, though the propoſitions ſhould be really good, they will be corrupted by paſſing through ſuch conduits, and it would be a ſufficient miſtake to enter into a treaty; but it would be little leſs than madneſs from ſuch hands to expect an Equivalent.

XVII. Having touched upon theſe particulars, as neceſſary in order to the ſtating the nature of an equal bargain, and the circumſtances belonging to it; let it now be examined, in two or three inſtances, what things are not to be admitted by way of contract, to paſs under the name of an Equivalent.

Firſt, though it will be allowed, that in the general corruption of mankind, which will not admit juſtice alone to be a ſufficient tie to make good a contract, that a puniſhnent, added for the breach of it, is a fitting, or rather a neceſſary circumſtance; yet it does not follow, that in all caſes a great penalty upon the party offending, is an abſolute and an entire ſecurity. It muſt be conſidered in every particular caſe, how far the circumſtances may rationally lead a man to rely more or leſs upon it.

In a private inſtance, the penalty inflicted upon the breach of contract muſt be, firſt, ſuch a one as the party injured can enforce; and ſecondy, ſuch a one as he will enforce, when it is in his power.

If the offending party is in a capacity of hindering the other from bringing the vengeance of the law upon him: If he hath ſtrength or privilege ſufficient to over-rule the letter of the contract; in that caſe, a penalty is but a word, there is no conſequence belonging to it. Secondly, The forfeiture or puniſhment muſt be ſuch as the man aggrieved will take. For example: If upon a bargain, one of the parties ſhall ſtipulate to ſubject himſelf, in caſe of his failure, to have his ears cut, or his noſe ſlit by the other, with ſecurity given, that he ſhall not be proſecuted for executing this part of the agreement; the penalty is no doubt heavy enough to diſcourage a man from breaking his contract: but on the other ſide, it is of ſuch a kind, that the other, how much ſoever he may be provoked, will not in cold blood care to inflict it. Such an extravagant clauſe would ſeem to be made only for ſhew and ſound, and no man would think himſelf ſafer by a thing which one way or other is ſure to prove ineffectual.

In a public caſe; ſuppoſe in a government ſo conſtituted, that a law may be made in the nature of a bargain, it is in itſelf no more than a dead letter; the life is given to it by the execution of what it containeth; ſo that let it in itſelf be never ſo perfect, it dependeth upon thoſe who are entruſted with ſeeing it obſerved.

If it is in any country where the chief magiſtrate chuſeth the judges, and the judges interpret the laws, a penalty in any one particular law can have no effect but what is precarious; it may have a loud voice to threaten, but it has not an hand to give a blow; for as long as the governing power is in poſſeſſion of this prerogative, let who will chuſe the meat, if they chuſe the cooks, it is they that will give the taſte to it. So that it is clear, that the rigor of a penalty will not, in all caſes, fix a bargain, neither is it univerſally a true poſition, that the increaſe of puniſhment for the breach of a new law, is an Equivalent for the conſent to part with the old one.

XVIII. In moſt bargains there is a reference to the time to come, which is therefore to be conſidered, as well as that which cometh within the compaſs of the preſent valuation.

Where the party contracting hath not a full power to diſpoſe what belongeth to him or them in reverſion, who ſhall ſucceed after him in his right, he cannot make any part of what is ſo limited to be the condition of the contract. Farther, he cannot enjoin the heir or ſucceſſor to forbear the exerciſe of any right that is inherent to him, as he is a man; neither can he reſtrain him, without his own conſent, from doing any act which in itſelf is lawful, and liable to no objection. For example: A father cannot ſtipulate with any other man, that in conſideration of ſuch a thing done, or to be done, his ſon ſhall never marry; becauſe marriage is an inſtitution eſtabliſhed by the laws of God and man, and therefore no-body can be ſo reſtrained by any power from doing ſuch an act, when he thinketh fit, being warranted by an authority that is not to be controuled.

XIX. Now, as there are rights inherent in mens perſons in their ſingle capacities, there are rights as much fixed to the body politic, which is a creature that never dieth. For inſtance: There can be no government without a ſupreme power; that power is not always in the ſame hands, it is in different ſhapes and dreſſes: but ſtill where-ever it is lodged, it muſt be unlimited: it hath a juriſdiction over every thing elſe, but it cannot have it above itſelf. Supreme power can no more be limited, than infinity can be meaſured; becauſe it ceaſeth to be the thing, its very being is diſolved, when any bounds can be put to it.

Where this ſupreme power is mixed or divided, the ſhape only differeth, the argument is ſtill the ſame.

The preſent ſtate of Venice cannot reſtrain thoſe who ſucceed them in the ſame power, from having an entire and unlimited ſovereignty. They may indeed make preſent laws, which ſhall retrench their preſent power, if they are ſo diſpoſed; and thoſe laws, if not repealed by the ſame authority that enacted them, are to be obſerved by the ſucceeding ſenate, till they think fit to abrogate them, and no longer. For if the ſupreme power ſhall ſtill reſide in the ſenate, perhaps compoſed of other men, or of other minds, (which will be ſufficient) the neceſſary conſequence is, that one ſenate muſt have as much right to alter ſuch a law, as another could have to make it.

XX. Suppoſe the ſupreme power in any ſtate ſhould make a law, to enjoin all ſubſequent law-makers to take an oath never to alter it, it would produce theſe following abſurdities.

Firſt, All ſupreme power being inſtituted to promote the ſafety and benefit, and to prevent the prejudice and danger which may fall upon thoſe who live under the protection of it; the conſequence of ſuch an oath would be, that all men who are ſo truſted ſhall take God to witneſs, that ſuch a law once made, being judged at that time to be advantageous for the public, though afterwards, by the viciſſitude of times, or the variety of accidents or intereſts, it ſhould plainly appear to them to be deſtructive, they will ſuffer it to have its courſe, and will never repeal it.

Secondly, If there could in any nation be found a ſet of men, who, having a part in the ſupreme legiſtative power, ſhould, as much as in them lieth, betray their country by ſuch a criminal engagement, ſo directly oppoſite to the nature of their power, and to the truſt repoſed in them: if theſe men have their power only for life, when they are dead, ſuch an oath can operate no farther; and though that would be too long a leaſe for the life of ſuch a monſter as an oath ſo compoſed, yet it muſt then certainly give up the ghoſt: it could bind none but the firſt makers of it, another generation would never be tied up by it.

Thirdly, In thoſe countries where the ſupreme aſſemblies are not conſtant ſtanding courts, but called together upon occaſions, and compoſed of ſuch as the people chuſe for that time only, with a truſt and character that remaineth no longer with them, than till that aſſembly is regularly diſſolved; ſuch an oath taken by the members of a ſenate, diet, or other aſſembly ſo choſen, can have very little effect, becauſe at the next meeting there may be quite another ſet of men, who will be under no obligation of that kind. The eternity intended to that law by thoſe that made it, will be cut off by new men who ſhall ſucceed them in their power, if they have a differing taſte, or another intereſt.

XXI. To put it yet farther; Suppoſe a

clauſe in ſuch a law, that it ſhall be criminal in the laſt degree for any man choſen in a ſubſequent aſſembly, to propoſe the repealing of it; and ſince nothing can be enacted which is not firſt propoſed, by this means it ſeemeth as if a law might be created which ſhould never die: But let this be examined.

Firſt, Such a clauſe would be ſo deſtructive to the being of ſuch a conſtitution, as that it would be as reaſonable to ſay, that a king had right to give or ſell his kingdom to a foreign prince, as that any number of men who are entruſted with the ſupreme power, or any part of it, ſhould have a right to impoſe ſuch ſhackles upon the liberty of thoſe who are to ſucceed them in the ſame truſt. The ground of that truſt is, that every man who is choſen into ſuch an aſſembly, is to do all that in him lieth for the good of thoſe who choſe him: the Engliſh of ſuch a clauſe would be, that he is not to do his beſt for thoſe that choſe him, becauſe, though he ſhould be convinced that it might be very fatal to continue that law, and therefore very neceſſary to repeal it, yet he muſt not repeal it, becauſe it is made a crime, and attended with a penalty.

But ſecondly, To ſhew the emptineſs, as

well as injuſtice of ſuch a clauſe; it is clear that although ſuch an invaſion of right ſhould be impoſed, it will never be obeyed: there will only be deformity in the monſter, it will neither ſting nor bite. Such lawgivers would only have the honour of attempting a contradiction, which can never have any ſucceſs; for as ſuch a law in itſelf would be a madneſs, ſo the penalty would be a jeſt; which may be thus made out.

XXII. A law that carrieth in itſelf reaſon enough to ſupport it, is ſo far from wanting the protection of ſuch a clauſe, or from needing to take ſuch an extraordinary receipt for a long life, that the admitting it muſt certainly be the likelieſt and the ſhorteſt way to deſtroy it. Such a clauſe in a law muſt imply an opinion, that the greateſt part of mankind is againſt it, ſince it is impoſſible ſuch an exorbitance ſhould be done for its own ſake; the end of it muſt be to force men by a penalty to that which they could not be perſuaded to, whilſt their reaſon is left at liberty. This poſition being granted, which I think can hardly be denied, put the caſe that a law ſhould be made with this imaginary clauſe of immortality; after which another aſſembly is choſen, and if the majority of the electors ſhall be againſt this law, the greater part of the elected muſt be ſo too, if the choice is fair and regular; which muſt be preſumed, ſince the ſuppoſition of the contrary is not to come within this argument. When theſe men ſhall meet, the majority will be viſible before-hand, of thoſe who are againſt ſuch a law; ſo that there will be no hazard to any ſingle man in propoſing the repeal of it, when he cannot be puniſhed but by the majority; and he hath ſuch a kind of aſſurance, as cometh near a demonſtration, that the greater number will be of his mind, and conſequently that for their own ſakes they will ſecure him from any danger.

For theſe reaſons, whenever, in order to the making a bargain, a propoſition is advanced to make a new law, which is to tie up thoſe who neither can nor will be bound by it, it may be a good jeſt, but it will never be a good Equivalent.

XXIII. In the laſt place, let it be examined how far a promiſe ought to be taken for a ſecurity in a bargain.

There is a great variety of methods for the ſecurity of thoſe that deal, according to their diſpoſitions and intereſts; ſome are binding, others inducing circumſtances, and are to be ſo diſtinguiſhed.

Firſt, ready payment is without exception; ſo of that there can be no diſpute: in default of that, the good opinion men may have of one another, is a great ingredient to ſupply the want of immediate performances. Where the truſt is grounded upon inclination only, the generoſity is not always returned; but where it ſpringeth from a long experience, it is a better foundation; and yet that is not always ſecure. In ordinary dealing, one promiſe may be an Equivalent to another; but it is not ſo for a thing actually granted or conveyed, eſpecially if the thing required in exchange for it, is of great value, either in itſelf, or in its conſequences. A bare promiſe, as a ſingle ſecurity in ſuch a caſe, is not an equal propoſal; if it is offered by way of addition, it generally giveth cauſe to doubt the title is crazy, where ſo ſlender a thing is brought in to be a ſupplement.

XXIV. The earneſt of making good a promiſe, muſt be ſuch a behaviour preceding, as may encourage the party to whom it is made to depend upon it. Where inſtead of that, there hath been want of kindneſs, and which is worſe, an invaſion of right, a promiſe hath no perſuading force; and till the objection to ſuch a proceeding is forgotten, (which can only be the work of time) and the ſkin is a little grown over the tender part, the wound muſt not be touched. There muſt be ſome intermiſſion at leaſt to abate the ſmart of unkind uſage, or elſe a promiſe in the eye of the party injured is ſo far from ſtrengthening a ſecurity, that it raiſeth more doubts, and giveth more juſtifiable cauſe to ſuſpect it.

A word is not like a bone, that being broken and well ſet again, is ſaid to be ſometimes ſtronger in that very part: it is far from being ſo in a word given, and not made good. Every ſingle act either weakeneth or improveth our credit with other men; and as an habit of being juſt to our word will confirm, ſo an habit of too freely diſpenſing with it muſt neceſſarily deſtroy. A promiſe hath its effect to perſuade a man to lay ſome weight upon it, where the promiſer hath not only the power, but may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have the will of performing it; and further, that there be no viſible intereſt of the party promiſing to excuſe himſelf from it, or to evade it.

All obligations are comparative, and where they ſeem to be oppoſite, or between the greater and the leſſer, which of them ought to have precedence in all reſpects, every man is apt to be his own judge.

XXV. If it ſhould fall out, that the promiſer with full intent at the time to perform, might, by the interpoſition of new arguments, or differing advice, think himſelf obliged to turn the matter of conſcience on the other ſide, and ſhould look upon it to be much a greater fault to keep this word, than to break it; ſuch a belief will untie the ſtricteſt promiſe that can be made; and tho' the party thus abſolving himſelf, ſhould do it without the mixture or temptation of private intereſt, being moved to it merely by his conſcience, as then informed; yet how far ſoever that might diminiſh the fault in him, it would in no degree leſſen the inconveniences to the party who is diſappointed, by the breach of an engagement upon which he relied.

XXVI. A promiſe is to be underſtood in the plain and natural ſenſe of the words, and to be ſure not in his who made it, if it was given as part of a bargain. That would be like giving a man power to raiſe the value of his money in the payment of his debt, by which, though he paid but half or leſs, he might pretend, according to the letter, to have made good the contract.

The power of interpreting a promiſe entirely taketh away the virtue of it. A merchant, who ſhould once aſſume that privilege, would ſave himſelf the trouble of making any more bargains.

It is ſtill worſe, if this juriſdiction over a man's promiſe ſhould be lodged in hands that have power to ſupport ſuch an extraordinary claim; and if in other caſes, forbearing to deal upon thoſe terms is adviſable, in this it becometh abſolutely neceſſary.

XXVII. There muſt in all reſpects be a full liberty to claim a promiſe, to make it reaſonable to take it in any part of payment; elſe it would be like agreeing for a rent, and at the ſame time making it criminal to demand it.

A ſuperiority of dignity or power in the party promiſing, maketh it a more tender thing for the other party to treat upon that ſecurity. The firſt maketh it a nice thing to claim, the latter maketh it a difficult thing to obtain.

In ſome caſes, a promiſe is in the nature of a covenant, and then between equal parties the breach of it will bear a ſuit; but where the greatneſs of the promiſer is very much raiſed above the level of equality, there is no forfeiture to be taken. It is ſo far from the party grieved his being able to ſue or recover damages, that he will not be allowed to explain or expoſtulate; and inſtead of his being relieved againſt the breach of promiſe, he will run the hazard of being puniſhed for breach of good-manners. Such a difficulty is putting all or part of the payment in the fire, where men muſt burn their fingers before they can come at it.

That cannot properly be called good payment, which the party to whom it is due may not receive with eaſe and ſafety. It was a king's brother of England who refuſed to lend the pope money, for this reaſon, *That he would never take the bond of one upon whom he could not diſtrain.*

The argument is ſtill ſtronger againſt the validity of a promiſe, when the contract is made between a prince and a ſubject. The very offering a king's word in mortgage, is rather a threatening in caſe of refuſal, than an inducing argument to accept it: it is unfair at firſt, and by that giveth greater cauſe to be cautious, eſpecially if a thing of that value and dignity, as a king's word ought to be, ſhould be put into the hands of ſtate-brokers to ſtrike up a bargain with it.

XXVIII. When God Almighty maketh covenants with mankind, his promiſe is a ſufficient ſecurity notwithſtanding his ſuperiority and his power; becauſe, firſt, he can neither err nor do injuſtice. It is the only exception to his omnipotence, that by the perfection of his being he is incapacitated to do wrong. Secondly, At the inſtant of his promiſe, by the extent of his foreſight, which cannot fail, there is no room left for the poſſibility of any thing to intervene, which might change his mind. Laſtly, He is above the receiving either benefit or inconvenience, and therefore can have no intereſt or temptation to vary from his word, when once he hath granted it.

Now though princes are God's vicegerents, yet their commiſſion not being ſo large, as that theſe qualifications are devolved to them, it is quite another caſe; and ſince the offering a ſecurity implieth it to be examined by the party to whom it is propoſed, it muſt not be taken ill that objections are made to it, even though the prince himſelf ſhould be the immediate propoſer.

Let a familiar caſe be put: Suppoſe a prince, tempted by a paſſion too ſtrong for him to reſiſt, ſhould deſcend ſo as to promiſe marriage to one of his ſubjects; and as men are naturally in great haſte upon ſuch occaſions, ſhould preſs to take poſſeſſion before the neceſſary forms could be complied with; would the poor lady's ſcruples be called criminal, for not taking the ſecurity of the royal word? Or would her allegiance be tainted by her reſiſting the ſacred perſon of her ſovereign, becauſe he was impatient of delay? Courteſy in this caſe might perſuade her to accept it, if ſhe was ſo diſpoſed; but ſure the juſt exerciſe of power can never claim it.

XXIX. There is one caſe, where it is more particularly a duty to uſe very great caution in accepting the ſecurity of a promiſe, and that is, when men are authorized and truſted by others to act for them. This putteth them under much greater reſtraints than thoſe who are at liberty to treat for themſelves. It is lawful, though it is not prudent, for any man to make an ill bargain for himſelf; but it is neither the one nor the other, where the party contracting treateth on behalf of another, by whom he is entruſted. Men who will unwarily accept an ill ſecurity, if it is for themſelves, forfeit their own diſcretion, and undergo the penalty; but they are not reſponſible to any-body elſe. They lie under the mortification and the loſs of committing the error, by which, though they may expoſe their judgment to ſome cenſure, yet their morality ſuffers no reproach by it.

But thoſe who are deputed by others to treat for them, upon terms of beſt advantage, though the confidence placed in them ſhould prevent the putting any limits to their power in their commiſſion; yet the condition implied, if not expreſſed, is, that the perſons ſo truſted ſhall neither make an ill bargain, nor accept a ſlight ſecurity.

The obligation is yet more binding, when the truſt is of a public nature. The aggravation of diſappointing a body of men that rely upon them, carrieth the fault as high as it can go; and perhaps no crime of any kind can outdo ſuch a deliberate breach of truſt, or would more juſtly make men forfeit the protection of human ſociety.

XXX. I will add one thing more upon this head, which is, that it is not always a true propoſition, that it is ſafe to rely upon a promiſe, if at the time of making it, it is the intereſt of the promiſer to make it good. This, though many times it is a good inducement, yet it hath theſe exceptions to it.

Firſt, if the propoſer hath at other times gone plainly againſt his viſible intereſt, the argument will turn the other way, and his former miſtakes are ſo many warnings to others, not to come within the danger of any more: let the inducements to thoſe miſtakes be never ſo great and generous, that does not alter the nature, they are miſtakes ſtill.

Intereſt is an uncertain thing: it goeth and cometh, and varieth according to times and circumſtances; as good build upon a quick-ſand, as upon a preſumption that intereſt ſhall not alter. Where are the men ſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind, that it is impoſſible for them to miſtake their intereſt? Who are they that have ſuch an exemption from human frailty, as that it can never happen to them not to ſee their intereſt for want of underſtanding, or not to leap over it by exceſs of zeal?

Above all, princes are the moſt liable to miſtake, not out of any defect in their nature, which might put them under ſuch an unfortunate diſtinction; quite contrary, the blood they derive from wiſe and great anceſtors, does rather diſtinguiſh them on the better ſide: beſides that, their great character and office of governing giveth a noble exerciſe to their reaſon, which can very hardly fail to raiſe and improve it. But there is one circumſtance annexed to their glorious calling, which in this reſpect is ſufficient to outweigh all thoſe advantages; it is, that mankind, divided in moſt things elſe, agree in this, to conſpire in their endeavours to deceive and miſlead them; which maketh it above the power of human underſtanding, to be ſo exactly guarded as never to admit a ſurprize; and the higheſt applauſe that could ever yet be given to the greateſt men that ever wore a crown, is, That they were no oftener deceived.

Thus I have ventured to lay down my thoughts of the nature of a bargain, and the due circumſtances belonging to an Equivalent; and will now conclude with this ſhort word: " Where diſtruſting may be the cauſe " of provoking anger, and truſting may be " the cauſe of bringing ruin, *the choice is* " *too eaſy to need the being explained.*

A
LETTER
TO A
DISSENTER,
Upon Occaſion of
His MAJESTY'S
Late gracious declaration of INDULGENCE.

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER,

Upon occaſion of his MAJESTY's late gracious declaration of indulgence.

SIR,

SINCE addreſſes are in faſhion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the effect of fear, intereſt, or reſentment; therefore, you may be ſure it is ſincere: and for that reaſon it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to convince, dependeth upon the reaſons of which you are to judge; and upon your preparation of mind, to be perſuaded by truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the leſs welcome, for coming from a friendly hand, one whoſe kindneſs to you is not leſſened by difference of opinion, and who will not let his thoughts for the public be ſo tied or confined to this or that ſub-diviſion of proteſtants, as to ſtifle the charity, which beſides all other arguments, is at this time become neceſſary to preſerve us.

I am neither ſurprized nor provoked, to ſee that in the condition you were put into by the laws, and the ill circumſtances you lay under, by having the excluſion and rebellion laid to your charge, you were deſirous to make yourſelves leſs uncaſy and obnoxious to authority. Men who are ſore, run to the neareſt remedy with too much haſte to conſider all the conſequences; grains of allowance are to be given, where nature giveth ſuch ſtrong influences. When to men under ſufferings it offereth eaſe, the preſent pain will hardly allow time to examine the remedies; and the ſtrongeſt reaſon can hardly gain a fair audience from our mind, whilſt ſo poſſeſſed, till the ſmart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the warmth that naturally belongeth to new friendſhips, may not make it a harder taſk for me to perſuade you. It is like telling lovers, in the beginning of their joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome ſtile doth not eaſily find credit: but I will ſuppoſe you are not ſo far gone in your new paſſion, but that you will hear ſtill; and therefore, I am under the leſs diſcouragement, when I offer to your conſideration two things: the firſt is, The cauſe you have to ſuſpect your new friends. The ſecond, The duty incumbent upon you, in chriſtianity and prudence, not to hazard the public ſafety, neither by deſire of eaſe, nor of revenge.

To the firſt, Conſider that notwithſtanding the ſmooth language which is now put on to engage you, theſe new friends did not make you their choice, but their refuge: they have ever made their firſt courtſhips to the church of England, and when they were rejected there, they made their application to you in the ſecond place. The inſtances of this might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, becauſe whatſoever is unneceſſary, muſt be tedious; the truth of this aſſertion being ſo plain, as not to admit a diſpute. You cannot therefore reaſonably flatter yourſelves, that there is any inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any quarter, but to uſher in liberty for themſelves under that ſhelter. I refer you to Mr. Coleman's Letters, and to the Journals of parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be ſo miſtaken as to doubt; nay, at this very hour they can hardly forbear, in the height of their courtſhip, to let fall hard words of you. So little is nature to be reſtrained; it will ſtart out ſometimes, diſdaining to ſubmit to the uſurpation of art and intereſt.

This alliance, between liberty and infallibility, is bringing together the two moſt contrary things that are in the world. The church of Rome doth not only diſlike the allowing liberty, but by its principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expreſly forbid to the Mahometans, than giving heretics liberty to the Papiſts: they are no more able to make good their vows to you, than men married before, and their wife alive, can confirm their contract with another. The continuance of their kindneſs would be a habit of ſin, of which they are to repent; and their abſolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their promiſe to deſtroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better ſqueezed at another time. There muſt be ſomething extraordinary, when the church of Rome ſetteth up bills, and offereth plaiſters for tender conſciences. By all that hath hitherto appeared, her ſkill in chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick hand to cut off limbs; but ſhe is the worſe at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come ſo quick from another extreme, is ſuch an unnatural motion, that you ought to be upon your guard. The other day you were *ſons of Belial,* now you are *angels of light.* This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pauſe upon it before you believe it: if your features are not altered, neither is their opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe leſs than you did that there is idolatry in the church of Rome? Sure you do not. See then how they treat, both in words and writing, thoſe who entertain that opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconſiſtent their favour is with this ſingle article, except they give you a diſpenſation for this too, and by a *non obſtante,* ſecure you that they will not think the worſe of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a foundation of paradoxes. Popery now is the only friend to liberty, and the known enemy to perſecution: the men of Taunton and Tiverton are above all other eminent for loyalty: the Quakers, from being declared by the Papiſts not to be chriſtians, are now made favourites, and taken into their particular protection; they are on a ſudden grown the moſt accompliſhed men of the kingdom in good breeding, and give thanks with the beſt grace in double refined language. So that I ſhould not wonder, though a man of that perſuaſion, in ſpite of his hat, ſhould be maſter of the ceremonies. Not to ſay harſher words, theſe are ſuch very new things, that it is impoſſible not to ſuſpend our belief, till by a little more experience we may be informed whether they are realities or apparitions. We have been under ſhameful miſtakes, if theſe opinions are true; but for the preſent we are apt to be incredulous, except that we could be convinced, that the prieſt's words in this caſe too are able to make ſuch a ſudden and effectual change; and that their power is not limited to the ſacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things, as often as they are ſo diſpoſed.

Let me now ſpeak of the inſtruments of your friendſhip, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford matter of ſuſpicion. No ſharpneſs is to be mingled, where healing only is intended; ſo nothing will be ſaid to expoſe particular men, how ſtrong ſoever the temptation may be, or how clear the proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, ſhall ſuffice. Suppoſe then, for argument's ſake, that the mediators of this new alliance ſhould be ſuch as have been formerly employed in treaties of the ſame kind, and there detected to have acted by order, and to have been impowered to give encouragements and rewards; would not this be an argument to ſuſpect them?

If they ſhould plainly be under engagements to one ſide, their arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly: their fair pretences are to be looked upon as part of their commiſſion, which may not improbably give them a diſpenſation in the caſe of truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the ſervice of thoſe by whom they are employed.

If there ſhould be men, who, having formerly had means and authority to perſuade by ſecular arguments, have, in purſuance of that power, ſprinkled money amongſt the diſſenting miniſters; and if thoſe very men ſhould now have the ſame authority, practiſe the ſame methods, and disburſe where they cannot otherwiſe perſuade; it ſeemeth to me to be rather an evidence, than a preſumption, of the deceit.

If there ſhould be miniſters amongſt you, who, by having fallen under temptations of this kind, are in ſome ſort engaged to continue their frailty, by the awe they are in leſt it ſhould be expoſed; the perſuaſions of theſe unfortunate men muſt ſure have the leſs force, and their arguments, though never ſo ſpecious, are to be ſuſpected, when they come from men who have mortaged themſelves to ſevere creditors, that expect a rigorous obſervation of the contract, let it be never ſo unwarrantable.

If theſe, or any others, ſhould at this time preach up anger and vengeance againſt the church of England; may it not without injuſtice be ſuſpected, that a thing ſo plainly out of ſeaſon ſpringeth rather from corruption than miſtake; and that thoſe, who act this choleric part, do not believe themſelves, but only purſue higher directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their contract, which obligeth them, upon a forfeiture, to make uſe of their inflaming eloquence? They might apprehend their wages would be retrenched, if they ſhould be moderate: and therefore, whilſt violence is their intereſt, thoſe, who have not the ſame arguments, have no reaſon to follow ſuch a partial example.

If there ſhould be men, who, by the load of their crimes againſt the government, have been bowed down to comply with it againſt their conſcience; who, by incurring the want of a pardon, have drawn upon themſelves a neceſſity of an entire reſignation: ſuch men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themſelves, when they have diſcharged their unwelcome taſk, will be inwardly glad that their forced endeavours do not ſucceed, and are pleaſed when men reſiſt their inſinuations; which are far from being voluntary or ſincere, but are ſqueezed out of them by the weight of their being ſo obnoxious.

If in the height of this great dearneſs, by comparing things, it ſhould happen, that at this inſtant, there is much à ſurer friendſhip with thoſe who are ſo far from allowing liberty, that they allow no living to a Proteſtant under them: let the ſcene lie in what part of the world it will, the argument will come home, and ſure it will afford ſufficient ground to ſuſpect. Apparent contradictions muſt ſtrike us; neither nature nor reaſon can digeſt them: ſelf-flattery, and the deſire to deceive ourſelves, to gratify preſent appetite, with all their power, which is great, cannot get the better of ſuch broad conviction, as ſome things carry along with them. Will you call theſe vain and empty ſuſpicions? Have you been at all times ſo void of fears and jealouſies, as to juſtify your being ſo unreaſonably valiant in having none upon this occaſion? Such an extraordinary courage at this unſeaſonable time, to ſay no more, is too dangerous a virtue to be commended.

If then, for theſe and a thouſand other reaſons, there is cauſe to ſuſpect, ſure your new friends are not to dictate to you, or adviſe you. For inſtance: The addreſſes that fly abroad every week, and murder us with *another to the ſame;* the firſt draughts are made by thoſe who are not very proper to be ſecretaries to the proteſtant religion: and it is your part only to write them out fairer again.

Strange! that you, who have been formerly ſo much againſt ſet-forms, ſhould now be content the prieſts ſhould indite for you. The nature of thanks is an unavoidable conſequence of being pleaſed or obliged; they grow in the heart, and from thence ſhew themſelves either in looks, ſpeech, writing, or action. No man was ever thankful becauſe he was bid to be ſo, but becauſe he had, or thought he had, ſome reaſon for it. If then there is cauſe in this caſe to pay ſuch extravagant acknowlegements, they will flow naturally, without taking ſuch pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to tire all the poſt-horſes with carrying circular letters to ſolicit that which would be done without any trouble or conſtraint. If it is really in itſelf ſuch a favour, what needeth ſo much preſſing men to be thankful, and with ſuch eager circumſtances, that where perſuaſions cannot delude, threatenings are employed to fright them into a compliance? Thanks muſt be voluntary, not only unconſtrained, but unſolicited, elſe they are either trifles or ſnares, that either ſignify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by thoſe that give them. If an inference ſhould be made, that whoſoever thanketh the king for his declaration, is by that engaged to juſtify it in point of law; it is a greater ſtride, than I preſume all thoſe care to make who are perſuaded to addreſs. If it ſhall be ſuppoſed, that all the thankers will be repealers of the Teſt, whenever a parliament ſhall meet; ſuch an expectation is better prevented before, than diſappointed afterwards; and the ſureſt way to avoid the lying under ſuch a ſcandal, is not to do any thing that may give a colour to the miſtake. Theſe beſpoken thanks are little leſs improper than love-letters that were ſolicited by the lady to whom they are to be directed: ſo, that beſides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them doth extremely leſſen their value. It might be wiſhed that you would have ſuppreſſed your impatience, and have been content for the ſake of religion, to enjoy it within yourſelves, without the liberty of a public exerciſe, till a parliament had allowed it; but ſince that could not be, and that the artifices of ſome amongſt you have made uſe of the well-meant zeal of the generality, to draw them into this miſtake; I am ſo far from blaming you with that ſharpneſs, which, perhaps, the matter in ſtrictneſs would bear, that I am ready to err on the ſide of the more gentle conſtruction.

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantages of an act irregularly done by others, and the going about to ſupport it againſt the laws in being; the law is ſo ſacred, that no treſpaſs againſt it is to be defended; yet frailties may in ſome meaſure be excuſed, when they cannot be juſtified. The deſire of enjoying a liberty, from which men have been ſo long reſtrained, may be a temptation that their reaſon is not at all times able to reſiſt. If in ſuch a caſe ſome objections are leapt over, indifferent men will be more inclined to lament the occaſion, than to fall too hard upon the fault whilſt it is covered with the apology of a good intention. But where, to reſcue yourſelves from the ſeverity of one law, you give a blow to all the laws, by which your religion and liberty are to be protected; and inſtead of ſilently receiving the benefit of this indulgence, you ſet up for advocates to ſupport it, you become voluntary aggreſſors, and look like council retained by the prerogative againſt your old friend Magna Charta, who hath done nothing to deſerve her falling thus under your diſpleaſure.

If the caſe then ſhould be, that the price expected from you for this liberty, is giving up your right in the laws, ſure you will think twice before you go any farther in ſuch a loſing bargain. After giving thanks for the breach of one law, you loſe the right of complaining of the breach of all the reſt; you will not very well know how to defend yourſelves when you are preſſed; and having given up the queſtion when it was for your advantage, you cannot recall it when it ſhall be to your prejudice. If you will ſet up at one time a power to help you, which at another time, by parity of reaſon, ſhall be made uſe of to deſtroy you; you will neither be pitied, nor relieved againſt a miſchief you draw upon yourſelves, by being ſo unreaſonably thankful. It is like calling in auxiliaries to help, who are ſtrong enough to ſubdue you. In ſuch a caſe your complaints will come too late to be heard, and your ſufferings will raiſe mirth inſtead of compaſſion.

If you think, for your excuſe, to expound your thanks, ſo as to reſtrain them to this particular caſe; others, for their ends, will extend them farther: and in theſe differing interpretations, that which is backed by authority will be the moſt likely to prevail; eſpecially when by the advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the argument, and that the inferences from your own conceſſions are very ſtrong and expreſs againſt you. This is ſo far from being a groundleſs ſuppoſition, that there was a late inſtance of it the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in the houſe of lords, where the firſt thanks, though things of courſe, were interpreted to be the approbation of the king's whole ſpeech, and a reſtraint from the further examination of any part of it, though never ſo much diſliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty prerogative of diſpenſing, merely by this innocent and uſual piece of good-manners, by which no ſuch thing could poſſibly be intended.

This ſheweth, that ſome bounds are to be put to your good-breeding, and that the conſtitution of England is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a compliment. Now that you have for ſome time enjoyed the benefit of the end, it is time for you to look into the danger of the means: the ſame reaſon that made you deſirous to get liberty, muſt make you ſolicitous to preſerve it; ſo that the next thought will naturally be, not to engage yourſelf beyond retreat; and to agree ſo far with the principles of all religion, as not to rely upon a death-bed repentance.

There are certain periods of time, which being once paſt, make all cautions ineffectual, and all remedies deſperate. Our underſtandings are apt to be hurried on by the firſt heats, which, if not reſtrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Conſider this in the caſe of your anger againſt the church of England, and take warning by their miſtake in the ſame kind, when after the late king's reſtoration they preſerved ſo long the bitter taſte of your rough uſage to them in other times, that it made them forget their intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their revenge.

Either you will blame this proceeding in them, and for that reaſon not follow it; or if you allow it, you have no reaſon to be offended with them; ſo that you muſt either diſmiſs your anger, or loſe your excuſe; except you ſhould argue more partially than will be ſuppoſed of men of your morality and underſtanding.

If you had now to do with thoſe rigid prelates, who made it a matter of conſcience to give you the leaſt indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable diſtance, and even to your moſt reaſonable ſcruples continued ſtiff and inexorable, the argument might be fairer on your ſide; but ſince the common danger has ſo laid open that miſtake, that all the former haughtineſs towards you is for ever extinguiſhed, and that it hath turned the ſpirit of perſecution into a ſpirit of peace, charity, and condeſcenſion; ſhall this happy change only affect the church of England? And are you ſo in love with ſeparation, as not to be moved by this example? It ought to be followed, were there no other reaſon than that it is virtue; but when beſides that, it is become neceſſary to your preſervation, it is impoſſible to fail the having its effect upon you.

If it ſhould be ſaid, That the church of England is never humble but when ſhe is out of power, and therefore loſeth the right of being believed when ſhe pretendeth to it: the anſwer is, Firſt, It would be an uncharitable objection, and very much miſ-timed; an unſeaſonable triumph, not only ungenerous, but unſafe: ſo that in theſe reſpects it cannot be urged without ſcandal, even tho' it could be ſaid with truth. Secondly, This is not ſo in fact, and the argument muſt fall, being built upon a falſe foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very hour, and in the heat and glare of your preſent ſunſhine, the church of England can in a moment bring clouds again, and turn the royal thunder upon your heads, blow you off the ſtage with a breath, if ſhe would give but a ſmile or a kind word; the leaſt glimpſe of her compliance would throw you back into the ſtate of ſuffering, and draw upon you all the arrears of ſeverity, which have accrued during the time of this kindneſs to you; and yet the church of England, with all her faults, will not allow herſelf to be reſcued by ſuch unjuſtifiable means, but chuſeth to bear the weight of power, rather than lie under the burden of being criminal.

It cannot be ſaid, that ſhe is unprovoked: books and letters come out every day to call for anſwers, yet ſhe will not be ſtirred. From the ſuppoſed authors and the ſtile, one would ſwear they were undertakers, and had made a contract to fall out with the church of England. There are laſhes in every addreſs, challenges to draw the pen in every pamphlet. It ſhort, the faireſt occaſions in the world given to quarrel; but ſhe wiſely diſtinguiſheth between the body of diſſenters, whom ſhe will ſuppoſe to act, as they do, with no ill intent, and theſe ſmall ſkirmiſhers, pickt and ſent out to picqueer, and to begin a fray amongſt the Proteſtants, for the entertainment as well as the advantage of the church of Rome.

This conduct is ſo good, that it will be ſcandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal dealing to blame our adverſaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To hate them becauſe they perſecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to ſuffer, rather than receive all the advantages that can be gained by a criminal compliance, is a principle no ſort of chriſtians can own, ſince it would give an objection to them never to be anſwered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former perſecutions, and then conſider how it will look to be angry with the inſtruments, and at the ſame time to make a league with the authors of your ſufferings.

Have you enough conſidered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to ſtand in every borough by virtue of a Conge d'Elire, and inſtead of election, be ſatisfied if you are returned?

Will you in parliament juſtify the diſpenſing power, with all its conſequences, and repeal the Teſt, by which you will make way for the repeal of all the laws that were made to preſerve your religion, and to enact others that ſhall deſtroy it?

Are you diſpoſed to change the liberty of debate into the merit of obedience; and to be made inſtruments to repeal or enact laws, when the Roman conſiſtory are lords of the articles?

Are you ſo linked with your new friends, as to reject any indulgence a parliament ſhall offer you, if it ſhall not be ſo comprehenſive as to include the Papiſts in it?

Conſider, that the implied conditions of your new treaty are no leſs than that you are to do every thing you are deſired, without examining; and that for this pretended liberty of conſcience, your real freedom is to be ſacrificed: your former faults hang like chains ſtill about you, you are let looſe only upon bail; the firſt act of non-compliance ſendeth you to goal again.

You may ſee, that the Papiſts themſelves do not rely upon the legality of this power which you are to juſtify; ſince the being ſo very earneſt to get it eſtabliſhed by a law, and the doing ſuch very hard things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear evidence, that they do not think that the ſingle power of the crown is in this caſe a good foundation; eſpecially when this is done under a prince, ſo very tender of all the rights of ſovereignty, that he would think it a diminution to his prerogative, where he conceiveth it ſtrong enough to go alone, to call in the legiſlative help to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.

You have formerly blamed the church of England, and not without reaſon, for going ſo far as they did in their compliance;

and yet as ſoon as they ſtopped, you ſee they are not only deſerted, but proſecuted. Conclude then from this example, that you muſt either break off your friendſhip, or reſolve to have no bounds in it. If they do not ſucceed in their deſign, they will leave you firſt; if they do, you muſt either leave them, when it will be too late for your ſafety, or elſe, after the ſqueazineſs of ſtarting at a ſurplice, you muſt be forced to ſwallow tranſubſtantiation.

Remember, that, the other day, thoſe of the church of England were Trimmers for enduring you; and now by a ſudden turn, you are become the favourites: do not deceive yourſelves, it is not the nature of laſting plants thus to ſhoot up in a night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a root to give you a continuance. It is not ſo long ſince, as to be forgotten, that the maxim was, *It is impoſſible for a diſſenter not to be a rebel.* Conſider at this time in France, even the new converts are ſo far from being employed, that they are diſarmed; their ſudden change maketh them ſtill to be diſtruſted, notwithſtanding that they are reconciled: what are you to expect then from your dear friends, to whom, whenever they ſhall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given ſuch arguments for their excuſe?

Beſides all this, you act very unſkilfully againſt your viſible intereſt, if you throw away the advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unſeaſonable activity loſe the influences of your good ſtar, which promiſeth you every thing that is proſperous.

The church of England, convinced of its error in being ſevere to you; the parliament, whenever it meeteth, ſure to be gentle to you; the next heir, bred in the country which you have ſo often quoted for a pattern of indulgence; a general agreement of all thinking men, that we muſt no more cut ourſelves off from the Proteſtants abroad, but rather enlarge the foundations upon which we are to build our defences againſt the common enemy: ſo that in truth, all things ſeem to conſpire to give you eaſe and ſatisfaction, if by too much haſte to anticipate your good fortune, you do not deſtroy it.

The Proteſtants have but one article of human ſtrength to oppoſe the power which is now againſt them, and that is, not to loſe the advantage of their numbers, by being ſo unwary as to let themſelves be divided.

We all agree in our duty to our prince: our objections to his belief do not hinder us from ſeeing his virtues; and our not complying with his religion hath no effect upon our allegiance. We are not to be laughed out of our paſſive obedience, and the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, though even thoſe, who perhaps owe the beſt part of their ſecurity to that principle, are apt to make a jeſt of it.

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal miſtake of miſapplying our anger, by the natural courſe of things this danger will paſs away like a ſhower of hail; fair weather will ſucceed, as lowring as the ſky now looketh, and all this by a plain and eaſy receipt: *Let us be ſtill, quiet, and undivided, firm at the ſame time to our religion, our loyalty, and our laws; and ſo long as we continue this method, it is next to impoſſible, that the odds of two hundred to one ſhould loſe the bett; except the church of Rome, which hath been ſo long barren of miracles, ſhould now, in her declining age, be brought to bed of one that would out-do the beſt ſhe can brag of in her legend.*

To conclude; the ſhort queſtion will be, Whether you will join with thoſe who muſt in the end run the ſame fate with you? If Proteſtants of all ſorts, in their behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon more equal terms, and for that very reaſon it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our diſ-union is not only a reproach, but a danger to us: thoſe, who believe in modern miracles, have more right, or at leaſt more excuſe, to neglect all ſecular cautions; but for us, it is as juſtifiable to have no religion, as wilfully to throw away the human means of preſerving it.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate

humble ſervant,

T. W.

SOME
CAUTIONS
Offered to the
CONSIDERATION
Of thoſe who are to chuſe
MEMBERS
To ſerve in the
ENSUING PARLIAMENT.

SOME CAUTIONS OFFERED

To the conſideration of thoſe who are to chuſe members to ſerve in the enſuing PARLIAMENT.

I WILL make no other introduction, than that it is hoped the counties and boroughs will remember in general, that beſides other conſequences, they will have the credit of a good choice, or the ſcandal that belongs to an ill one.

The creators will be thought like their creatures; and therefore, an ill choice will either be a diſparagement of their underſtanding, or their morals.

There cannot be a fuller approbation of a thing, than the chuſing of it; ſo that the fault of the members choſen, if known before-hand, will be judged to be of the growth of that county or borough, after ſuch a ſolemn approbation of them.

In ſhort, thoſe, that ſend up their repreſentatives to Weſtminſter, ſhould take care they may be ſuch as will do them right, and their country honour.

Now to the particulars :

I. A very extraordinary earneſtneſs to be choſen is no very good ſymptom: a deſire to ſerve the nation in parliament is an Engliſhman's ambition; always to be encouraged, and never to be diſapproved.

A man may not only be willing to ſtand, but he may declare that willingneſs to his friends, that they may aſſiſt him, and by all the means becoming a modeſt and prudent man, he may endeavour to ſucceed, and prevent the being diſappointed in it.

But there is a wide difference between this, and the raiſing a kind of petty war in the county or corporation; entering the liſts rather for a combat than an election; throwing fire-balls to put men into heats, and omitting to ſpread no reports, whether true or falſe, which may give an advantage, by laying a blemiſh upon a competitor.

Theſe methods will ever be ſuſpicious; it will never be thought a natural thing for men to take ſuch extravagant pains for the mere ſake of doing good to others.

To be content to ſuffer ſomething for a good end, is that which many would do without any great repugnance: but where a man can honeſtly propoſe nothing to himſelf, except troubles, charge, and loſs, by abſence from his own affairs, to be ſo violent in the purſuit of ſo ill a bargain, is not at all ſuited to the languiſhing virtue of mankind ſo corrupted.

Such a ſelf-denying zeal, in ſuch a ſelf-ſeeking age, is ſo little to be imagined, that it may without injury be ſuſpected.

Therefore, when theſe bluſtering pretenders come upon the ſtage, their natural temper and other circumſtances ought to be very well conſidered, before men truſt them with the diſpoſal of their money, or their liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one ſingle man whoſe other qualifications would over-balance the objections that lie againſt ſuch importunate ſuitors.

II. Recommending letters ought to have no effect upon elections.

In this I muſt diſtinguiſh; for though in ſtrictneſs perhaps there ſhould be no exception; yet in compliance with long practice, and out of an indulgence that is neceſſary in, a time, when mankind is too much looſened from ſevere rules to be kept cloſe up to them, letters ſent only from equal men, doing good men right by giving evidence in their behalf, offering them as fitly qualified, when they really are ſo, and freeing them from unjuſt aſperſions, may be ſtill allowed.

The letters I mean, are from men of power, where it may be beneficial to comply, and inconvenient to oppoſe.

Choice muſt not only be free from force, but from influence, which is a degree of force; there muſt be no difficulty, no apprehenſion that a refuſal will be ill taken or reſented.

The freeholders muſt be freemen too; they are to have no ſhackles upon their votes in an election: and the men who ſtand, ſhould carry their own letters of recommendation about them, which are their good character and behaviour in the world, without borrowing evidence, eſpecially when it comes from ſuſpected hands.

Thoſe who make uſe of theſe epiſtles, ought to have no more advantage from them, than the Moſcovites have from the letter put into their hands when they are buried, to recommend them to St. Nicolas.

The firſt ſhould as little get admittance for men into the parliament, as theſe letters can introduce the bearers into heaven.

The ſcandal of ſuch letters lieth firſt in the arrogant impoſing of thoſe that write them, and next in the wretched meanneſs of thoſe that need them.

Men muſt be fallen very low in their credit, who upon ſuch an occaſion have a recourſe to power to ſupport it: their enemies could not give ſtronger evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the electors judge otherwiſe, they will be pretty ſure in a little time to ſee their miſtake, and to repent it.

III. Non-attendance in former parliaments ought to be a bar againſt the choice of men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worſt kinds of non-reſidence, and the leaſt to be excuſed: it is very hard that men ſhould deſpiſe a duty, which perhaps is the only ground of the reſpect that is paid to them.

It is ſuch a piece of ſaucineſs for any one to preſs for the honour of ſerving in parliament, and then to be careleſs in attending it, that in a houſe where there were ſo many officers, the penalty had not been improper to have caſhiered them for not appearing at the general muſter.

If men forbear to come out of lazineſs, let them be gratified by taking their eaſe at home without interruption: if out of ſmall cunning, to avoid difficulties, and to eſcape from the inconvenience of voting in critical caſes, let them enjoy that deſpicable pitch of wiſdom, and never pretend to make a figure where the public is to be ſerved.

If it would not be thought adviſable to truſt a man immediately after he hath been drawn out of goal, it may be as reaſonable to look upon one, who for his non-attendance in the houſe hath been ſent for in cuſtody, as a kind of bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal terms with thoſe who have been aſſiduous in the diſcharge of their duty.

They, who thought fit in one ſeſſion to neglect the public buſineſs, may be juſtly ſuſpected, by their ſtanding in the next, to intend their own.

Beſides theſe more deliberate offenders, there are ſome who do not attend even when they are in the houſe; abſent in their thoughts for want of comprehending the buſineſs that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by any thing that is trivial.

Such men are nuſances to a ſerious aſſembly; and when they are numerous, it amounteth almoſt to a diſſolution; it being ſcarce poſſible for good ſenſe to be heard, whilſt a noiſe is made by the buzzing of theſe horſe-flies.

The Roman cenſors, who degraded a ſenator for yawning whilſt there was a debate, would have much more abundant matter here upon which they might exerciſe their juriſdiction.

To conclude this head; there are ſo few that ever mended in theſe caſes, that after the firſt experiment it is not at all reaſonable to take them upon a new trial.

IV. Men who are unquiet and buſy in their natures, are to give more than ordinary proofs of their integrity, before the electing them into a public truſt can be juſtified. As a hot ſummer breedeth greater ſwarms of flies, ſo an active time breedeth a greater number of theſe ſhining gentlemen.

It is pretty ſure, that men who cannot allow themſelves to be at reſt, will let no-body elſe be at quiet. Such a perpetual activity is apt by degrees to be applied to the purſuit of their private intereſt. And their thoughts being in a continual motion, they have not time to dwell long enough upon any thing to entertain a ſcruple.

So that they are generally at full liberty to do what is moſt convenient for them without being fettered by any reſtraints.

Nay further; whenever it happeneth that there is an impunity for cheating, theſe nimble gentlemen are apt to think it a diſparagement to their underſtandings not to go into it.

I doubt it is not a wrong to the preſent age, to ſay, that a knave is a leſs unpopular calling than it hath been in former times. And to ſay truth, it would be ingratitude in ſome men to turn honeſt, when they owe all they have to their knavery.

The people are in this reſpect unhappy; they are too many to do their own buſineſs; their numbers, which make their ſtrength, are at the ſame time the cauſe of their weakneſs; they are too unweildly to move; and for this reaſon nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable impotency: ſo that they muſt have ſolicitors to purſue and look after their intereſts; who are too often diſpoſed to diſpenſe with the fidelity they owe thoſe that truſt to them; eſpecially if the government will pay their bills without abatement.

It is better theſe gentlemen's dexterity ſhould be employed any where than in parliament, where the ill conſequence of their being members is too much diffuſed, and not reſtrained to the county or borough who ſhall be ſo unwary as to chuſe them.

V. Great drinkers are leſs fit to ſerve in parliament than is apprehended.

Men's virtue, as well as their underſtanding, is apt to be tainted by it.

The appearance of it is ſociable and well-natured, but it is by no means to be relied upon.

Nothing is more frail than a man too far engaged in wet popularity.

The habit of it maketh men careleſs of their buſineſs, and that naturally leadeth them into circumſtances, that make them liable to temptation.

It is ſeldom ſeen, that any principles have ſuch a root, as that they can be proof againſt the continual droppings of a bottle.

As to the faculties of the mind, there is not leſs objection; the vapours of wine may ſometimes throw out ſparks of wit, but they are like ſcattered pieces of ore, there is no vein to work upon.

Such wit, even the beſt of it, is like paying great fines; in which caſe there muſt of neceſſity be an abatement of the conſtant rent.

Nothing ſure is a greater enemy to the brain, than too much moiſture; it can the leaſt of any thing bear the being continually ſteeped: and it may be ſaid, that thought may be reſembled to ſome creatures which can live only in a dry country.

Yet ſo arrogant are ſome men, as to think they are ſo much maſters of buſineſs, as that they can play with it: they imagine they can drown their reaſon once a-day, and that it ſhall not be the worſe for it; forgetting, that by too often dividing, the underſtanding at laſt groweth too weak to riſe up again.

I will ſuppoſe this fault was leſs frequent, when Solon made it one of his laws, That it was lawful to kill a magiſtrate, if he was found drunk. Such a liberty taken in this age, either in the parliament or out of it, would do terrible execution.

I cannot but mention a petition in the year 1647, from the county of Devon, to the houſe of commons, againſt the undue election of burgeſſes, who are ſtrong in wine, and weak in wiſdom.

The cauſe of ſuch petitions is to be prevented, by chuſing ſuch as ſhall not give handle for them.

VI. Wanting men give ſuch cauſe of ſuſpicion where-ever they deal, that ſurely the chuſers will be upon their guard, as often as ſuch dangerous pretenders make their application to them.

Let the behaviour of ſuch men be never ſo plauſible and untainted, yet they, who are to pitch upon thoſe they are to truſt with all they have, may be excuſed, if they do not only conſider what they are, but what they may be.

As we pray ourſelves we may not be led into temptation, we ought not by any means to thruſt others into it, even though our own intereſt was not concerned; and ſure when it is, the argument hath no leſs force.

If a man hath a ſmall eſtate, and a numerous family; where it happeneth that a man hath as many children as he hath tenants, it is not a recommending circumſtance for his election.

When it cometh to be the queſtion with ſuch a man, whether he ſhall be juſt to the public, or cruel to his family; it is very poſſible the deciſion may be on the ſide of corrupted nature.

It is a compliment to this age, which it doth not deſerve, to ſuppoſe men are ſo tied up to morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it; eſpecially now when it is called ſtarving, not to be embroidered, or ſerved in plate.

The men, choſen to ſerve their country, ſhould not be loaden with ſuits that may tempt them to aſſume privileges; much leſs under ſuch neceſſities as may more immediately prepare them for corruption.

Men, who need a parliament for their own particular intereſt, have more reaſon to offer their ſervice than others have to accept of it. And though I do not doubt, but there may be ſome whoſe virtue would triumph over their wants, let them be never ſo preſſing; yet to expoſe the public to the hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be juſtified by thoſe that chuſe. And though it muſt be allowed poſſible for a wanting man to be honeſt, yet it is impoſſible for a man to be wiſe that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a ſort of men that have a tinſel-wit, which makes them ſhine among thoſe who cannot judge.

Club and coffee-houſe gentlemen, petty merchants of ſmall conceits, who have an empty habit of prating without meaning: they always aim at wit, and generally make falſe fire.

Their buſineſs is leſs to learn, than to ſet themſelves out; which makes them chuſe to be with ſuch as can only be witneſſes of their ſmall ingenuity, rather than with ſuch as might improve it.

There is a ſubordinate wit, as much inferior to a wit of buſineſs, as a fidler at a wake is to the lofty ſound of an organ.

Men of this ſize are in no degree ſuited to the buſineſs of redreſſing grievances, and making laws.

There is a parliament-wit to be diſtinguiſhed from all other kinds: thoſe who have it, do not ſtuff their heads only with cavils and objections.

They have a deliberate and an obſerving wit; a head turned to public things; men who place a greater pleaſure in mending a fault, than in finding it out.

Their underſtanding directeth them to object in the right place; and not like thoſe who go by no other rule than to conclude, that muſt be the beſt counſel which was not taken.

Theſe wholeſale judges ſhew ſuch a groſs and peeviſh ignorance, that appeareth ſo openly in all they ſay or do, that they give loud warning to all conſidering men, not to chuſe them.

VIII. The diſlike of ſlight airy men muſt not go ſo far, as to recommend heavineſs in oppoſition to it, eſpecially where men are convicted of it by experience in former ſeſſions.

As a lively coxcomb will ſeldom fail to lay in his claim for wit; ſo a blockhead is apt to pretend, that his heavineſs is a proof of his judgment.

Some have an univerſal lethargy ſpread upon their underſtanding, without exception; others have an inſufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in ſome caſes men have *quoad hanc*: theſe laſt can never ſo turn their thoughts to public buſineſs, as to give the attention that is neceſſary to comprehend it.

There are thoſe who have ſuch a thick ſhell upon their brains, that their ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh ſuch a ſtout reſiſtance againſt common ſenſe, that it will never be ſubdued by it: true heart-of-oak ignorance, that will never yield, let reaſon beat never ſo hard upon it; and though their kind neighbours have at ſeveral elections ſent them up to ſchool again, they have ſtill returned the ſame incurable dunces.

There is a falſe gravity that is a very ill ſymptom; and it may be ſaid, that as rivers, which run very ſlowly, have always the moſt mud at the bottom; ſo a ſolid ſtiffneſs in the conſtant courſe of a man's life, is a ſign of a thick bed of mud at the bottom of his brain.

A dull man is ſo near a dead man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the liſt of the living; and as he is not to be buried whilſt he is half alive, ſo he is as little to be employed whilſt he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In ancient times they were little more than great aſſizes; a roll of grievances; Magna Charta confirmed; privileges of holy church preſerved; ſo many ſacks of wool given, and away.

Now they are traps and gins laid for the well-meaning country-gentlemen; he is to grapple with the cunning of men in town, which is not a little improved by being rewarded and encouraged.

So that men, whoſe good intentions are not ſeconded and ſupported by ſome degree of ability, are as much the more dangerous, as they are leſs criminal than cunning knaves. Their honeſt miſtakes, for want of diſtinguiſhing, either give a countenance to, or at leaſt leſſen, the ſcandal of the injurious things that are done to the public; and with leave aſked for ſo odd an expreſſion, their innocent guilt is as miſchievous to the laws and liberties, as the moſt deliberate malice of thoſe that would deſtroy them.

IX. There is an abuſe, which daily increaſeth, of ſending ſuch to parliament, as are ſcarce old enough to be ſent to the univerſity.

I would not in this reſtrain the definition of theſe boys to the age of twenty one: if my opinion might take place, I ſhould wiſh that none might be choſen into the houſe of commons under thirty; and to make ſome equality, I ſhould from the ſame motives think it convenient, that no lord ſhould have a vote in judicature under that age.

But to leave this digreſſion; I cannot ſee why the chuſers ſhould not at leaſt make it a rule among themſelves, not to ſend any man to repreſent them under the age of twenty five, which is the time of majority in moſt other places of the world.

Surely it is not that we are earlier plants than our neighbours.

Such ſuppoſition could neither be juſtified by our climate, nor by the degree of latitude in which we are placed; I muſt thereſore attribute it to the haſte our anceſtors had (and not without reaſon) to free themſelves from the ſeverity of wardſhips.

But whether this, or any thing elſe, was the cauſe of our earlier ſtepping into man's eſtate; ſo it is now, that according to our laws, twenty one is the age of diſcretion; and the young man is then veſted with a legal, how defective ſoever he may be in his natural, underſtanding.

With all this there ought to be a difference made between coming out of pupilage, and leaping into legiſlatorſhip.

It is perhaps inconvenient enough, that a man ſhould be ſo ſoon let looſe to deſtroy his own eſtate; but it is yet worſe, that he ſhould then have a power of giving away other mens.

The law muſt make general rules, to which there always will be ſome objections.

If there were triers appointed to judge when leading-ſtrings may be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and ſome perhaps with their gray hairs; there being no ſmall number of old boys in all times, and eſpecially in this.

It is neceſſary therefore, to make exceptions to this general rule, where the caſe ſo much requireth it, as it doth in the matter in queſtion.

The ground of ſending theſe minors to parliament, ought not to recommend the continuance of it to thoſe who are lovers of liberty; ſince it was by the authority and influence of great men, that their ſtripling ſons were firſt received by the humble depending boroughs, or the complying counties.

They called it, as many do ſtill, the beſt ſchool for young men. Now experience hath ſhewed us, that it is like a ſchool only in this reſpect, that theſe youngſters, when they are admitted, deſerve to be whipped in it.

If the houſe of commons is a ſchool, it muſt be for men of riper age: theſe are too young to learn there, and being elevated by a miſtaken ſmattering in ſmall politics, they grow too ſupercilious to learn any where elſe; ſo that inſtead of improving young promiſing plants, they are deſtroyed by being miſplaced.

If then they do themſelves hurt by it, it is ſurer yet that they do the houſe no good by coming into it.

They were not green geeſe that are ſaid to have ſaved the capitol; they were certainly of full age, or elſe their cackling could not have been heard, ſo as to give warning.

Indeed it looked of late, when the faſhion was to have long continued parliaments, as if we might plant a boy in the houſe, with a proſpect that he might continue there till he had gray hairs; and that the ſame ſapling might have ſuch a root, as that he might grow up to be timber without being removed.

If theſe young men had ſkill enough to pitch upon ſome-body in the houſe, to whom they might reſign their opinion, and upon whoſe judgment they might lean without reſerve, there might be leſs objection.

But to ſpeak truth, they know as little how to chuſe, as thoſe did who elected them; ſo that there is no other expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may ſay, generally ſpeaking, That a young man being too ſoon qualified for the ſerious buſineſs of parliaments, would really be no good ſymptom.

It is a ſign of too much phlegm, and too little fire in the beginning of age, if men have not a little more heat than is convenient; for as they grow older, they will run a hazard of not having ſo much as is neceſſary.

The truth is, the vigor of youth is ſoftened and miſapplied, when it is not ſpent either in war or cloſe ſtudies; all other courſes have an idle mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like trees, which for want of pruning run up to wood, and ſeldom or never bear any fruit.

To conclude this head; It muſt be owned, that there is no age of our life, which doth not carry arguments along with it to humble us; and therefore, it would be well for the buſineſs of the world, if young men would ſtay longer before they went into it, and old men not ſo long before they went out of it.

X. Next to theſe may be ranked a ſort of ſuperfine gentlemen, carpet-knights, men whoſe heads may be ſaid to be only appurtenances to their perukes, which entirely ingroſs all their care and application.

Their underſtanding is ſo ſtrictly appropriated to their dreſs, that no part of it is, upon pain of their utmoſt diſpleaſure, to be diverted to any other uſe.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected clown, or to make it a neceſſary qualification for a member of parliament, that he muſt renounce clean linen or good-manners; but ſurely a too earneſt application to make every thing ſit right about them, ſtriketh too deep into their ſmall ſtock of thoughts to allow it furniture for any thing elſe.

To do right to theſe fine-ſpun gentlemen, buſineſs is too coarſe a thing for them, which maketh it an unreaſonable hardſhip upon them to oppreſs them with it; ſo that in tenderneſs to them, no leſs than out of care to the public, it is beſt to leave them to their taylors, with whom they will live in much better correſpondence, when the danger is prevented of their falling out about privileges.

XI. Men of injuſtice and violence, in their private dealings, are not to be truſted by the people with a commiſſion to treat for them in parliament.

In the 4th of Edward III. the king commandeth in his writs, not to chuſe any knights who had been guilty of crime, or maintenance.

Theſe warm men ſeldom fail to run into maintenance, taken in a larger extent.

It is an unnatural ſound to come from a man that is arbitrary in his neighbourhood, to talk of laws and liberties at Weſtminſter; he is not a proper vehicle for ſuch words, which ought never to be prophaned.

An habitual breaker of the laws, to be made one of the law-makers, is as if the benches in Weſtminſter-hall ſhould be filled with men out of Newgate.

Thoſe who are of this temper cannot change their nature out of reſpect to their country.

Quite contrary, they will leſs ſcruple to do wrong to a nation where no-body taketh it to himſelf, than to particular men, to whoſe reſentments they are more immediately expoſed.

In ſhort, they lie under ſuch ſtrong objections, that the over-balance of better men cannot altogether purify an aſſembly where theſe unclean beaſts are admitted.

XII. Exceſſive ſpenders and unreaſonable ſavers are to be excluded, being both greedy from differing cauſes.

They are both of them diſeaſes of infection, and for that reaſon are not to be admitted into public aſſemblies.

A prodigal man muſt be greedy, becauſe he thinketh he can never ſpend enough.

The wretch muſt be ſo, becauſe he will never think he can hoard enough.

The world firſt admireth men's wiſdom for getting money, and then raileth at them if they do not throw it away. So that the prodigal man is only the leſs unpopular extreme; he is every jot as well prepared as the miſer to fall out with his morals, when once a good temptation is offered him to lay them aſide.

On the other ſide, ſome rich men are as eager to overtake thoſe that are richer, as a running-horſe is to get to the race-poſt before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often deſire to heap, rather becauſe others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they covet with ſo much impatience.

So that it is plain, the fancy hath as great a ſhare in this imaginary pleaſure of gathering, as it hath in love, ambition, or any other paſſion.

It is pretty ſure, that as no man was ever the richer for having a good eſtate, if he did not look after it, ſo neither will he be the honeſter if he hath never ſo much.

Want of care will always create want of

money; ſo that whether a man is a beggar becauſe he never had any money, or becauſe he can never keep any, it is all one to thoſe who are to truſt him.

Upon this head of prodigality, it may be no unreaſonable caution, to be afraid of thoſe who in former ſervice have been extravagantly liberal of the public money.

Truſting is ſo hazardous a thing, that it ſhould never be done but where it is neceſſary: ſo that when truſtees are found upon trial to be very laviſh, even without examining into the cauſes of it, (which are generally very ſuſpicious) it is a reaſonable part of preventing wit to change hands, or elſe the chuſers will pay the penalty that belongeth to good-nature ſo miſplaced, and the conſequences will be attended with the aggravation of their not being made wiſer by ſuch a ſevere and coſtly warning.

XIII. It would be of very great uſe to take a general reſolution throughout the kingdom, that none ſhould be choſen for a county but ſuch as have, either in poſſeſſion, or reverſion, a conſiderable eſtate in it; nor for a borough, except he be reſiant, or that he hath ſome eſtate in the county, in preſent or expectancy.

There have been eminent men of law

who were of opinion, that in the caſe of a burgeſs of a town not reſiant, the court is to give judgment according to the ſtatute, notwithſtanding cuſtom to the contrary.

But not to inſiſt now upon that, the prudential part is argument enough to ſet up a rule to abrogate an ill cuſtom.

There is not, perhaps, a greater cauſe of the corruption of parliaments, than by adopting members, who may be ſaid to have no title by their births.

The juries are by the law to be *ex vicineto;* and ſhall there be leſs care that the repreſentatives of the people be ſo too?

Sure the intereſt of the county is beſt placed in the hands of ſuch as have ſome ſhare in it.

The outliers are not ſo eaſily kept within the pale of the laws.

They are often choſen without being known, which is more like chuſing valentines, than members of parliament. The motive of their ſtanding is more juſtly to be ſuppoſed that they may redreſs their own grievances which they know, than thoſe of the country, to which they are ſtrangers.

They are choſen at London to ſerve in Cornwal, etc. and are often parties, before they come to be repreſentatives: one would think the reproach it is, for a county not to have men within their own circle to ſerve them in parliament, ſhould be argument enough to reject theſe treſpaſſers, without urging the ill conſequences in other reſpects of their being admitted.

XIV. As in ſome caſes it is adviſable to give a total excluſion to men not fitly qualified; ſo in others it is more proper to lay down a general rule of caution, with allowance of ſome exceptions, where men have given ſuch proofs of themſelves, as create a right for them to be diſtinguiſhed.

Of this nature is that which I ſhall ſay concerning lawyers, who, by the ſame reaſon that they may be uſeful, may be alſo very dangerous.

The negligence, and want of application in gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more neceſſary than naturally they are in parliament.

They have not only ingroſſed the chair of the ſpeaker, but that of a committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a man of the robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more ſerious reflection of all gentlemen, that it may be an argument to them to qualify themſelves in parliamentary learning, in ſuch a manner, as that they may rely upon their own abilities, in order to the ſerving their country.

But to come to the point in queſtion; it is not without precedent, that practiſing lawyers have been excluded from ſerving in parliament; and without following thoſe patterns ſtrictly, I cannot but think it reaſonable, that whilſt a parliament ſitteth, no member of parliament ſhould plead at any bar.

The reaſon of it is in many reſpects ſtrong in itſelf, and is grown much ſtronger by the long ſitting of parliaments of late; but I will not dwell upon this: the matter now in queſtion being concerning lawyers being elected, which I conceive ſhould be done with ſo much circumſpection, that probably it would not often happen.

If lawyers have great practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great ſign of their ability; and at the ſame time giveth a ſuſpicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it ſhould be ſo in fact, that no king ever wanted judges to ſoften the ſtiffneſs of the laws that were made, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the reaſon of ſtate, and the convenience of the government; it is no injury now to ſuppoſe it poſſible for lawyers in the houſe of commons, ſo to behave themſelves in the making of new laws, as the better to make way for the having their robes lined with fur.

They are men uſed to argue on both ſides of a queſtion; and if ordinary fees can inſpire them with very good reaſons in a very ill cauſe, that faculty exerciſed in parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to thoſe that chuſe them.

And therefore, without arraigning a profeſſion, that it would be ſcandalous for a man not to honour; one may, by a ſuſpicion, which is the more excuſable when it is in the behalf of the people, imagine, that the habit of taking money for their opinion may create in ſome ſuch a forgetfulneſs to diſtinguiſh, that they may take it for their vote.

They are generally men, who, by a laborious ſtudy, hope to be advanced: they have it in their eye as a reward for the toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very ſlow, and ill-diſpoſed (let the occaſion never ſo much require it) to wreſtle with that ſoil where preferment groweth.

Now if the ſuppoſition be in itſelf not unreaſonable, and that it ſhould happen to be ſtrengthened and confirmed by experience, it will be very unneceſſary to ſay any more upon this article, but leave it to the electors to conſider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a caveat againſt men tied to a party.

There muſt in every body be a leaning to that ſort of men who profeſs ſome principles, more than to others who go upon a different foundation; but when a man is drowned in a party, plunged in it beyond his depth, he runneth a great hazard of being upon ill terms with good-ſenſe, or morality, if not with both of them.

Such a man can hardly be called a free agent, and for that reaſon is very unfit to be truſted with the people's liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It is ſaid, that in ſome part of the Indies they do ſo affect little feet, that they keep them ſqueezed while they are children, ſo that they ſtay at that ſmall ſize after they are grown men.

One may ſay ſomething like this of men locked up in a party; they put their thoughts into ſuch a narrow mould, that they can never be enlarged nor releaſed from their firſt confinements.

Men in a party have liberty only for their motto; in reality they are greater ſlaves than any body elſe would care to make them.

A party, even in times of peace, (tho' againſt the original contract, and the bill of rights) ſets up and continues the exerciſe of martial law: once enrolled, the man that quitteth, if they had their will, would be hanged for a deſerter.

They communicate anger to one another by contagion: and it may be ſaid, that if too much light dazzleth the eye-ſight, too much heat doth not leſs weaken the judgment.

Heat reigneth in the fancy; and reaſon, which is a colder faculty of the brain, taketh more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The heat of a party is like the burning of a fever; and not a natural warmth, evenly diſtributed to give life and vigor.

There was a time indeed when anger ſhewed a good ſign of honeſty; but that evidence is very much weakened by inſtances we have ſeen ſince the days of yore: and the public-ſpirited choler hath been thrown off within time of memory, and loſt almoſt all its credit with ſome people, ſince they found what governments thought fit to make their ſo doing a ſtep to their preferment.

A ſtrong bluſtering wind ſeldom continues long in one corner.

Some men knock loud only to be let in; the buſtle they make is animated by their private intereſt. The outward blaze only is for religion and liberty: the true laſting fire, like that of the veſtals which never went out, is an eagerneſs to get ſomewhat for themſelves.

A houſe of commons, compoſed of ſuch men, would be more properly ſo many merchants incorporated in a regular company, to make their particular adventures, than men ſent from the people to ſerve and repreſent them.

There are ſome ſplenetic gentlemen, who confine their favourable opinion within ſo narrow a compaſs, that they will not allow it to any man that was not hanged in the late reigns.

Now by that rule one might expect they ſhould reſcue themſelves from the diſadvantage of being now alive: and by abdicating a world ſo little worthy of them, get a great name to themſelves, with the general ſatisfaction of all thoſe they would leave behind them.

Among the many other ill conſequences of a ſtated party, it is none of the leaſt, that it tempteth low and inſignificant men to come upon the ſtage, to expoſe themſelves, and to ſpoil buſineſs.

It turneth a cypher into a figure, ſuch a one as it is: a man in a party is able to make a noiſe, let it be never ſo empty a ſound.

A weak man is eaſily blown out of his ſmall ſenſes, by being muſtered into a party: he is flattered, till he liketh himſelf ſo well, that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an employment.

Nothing is more in faſhion, than for men to deſire good places, and I doubt nothing is leſs ſo than to deſerve them.

From no-body to ſome-body is ſuch a violent ſtride, that nature, which hath the negative voice, will not give its royal aſſent to it; ſo that when inſufficient men aim at being in buſineſs, the worſt of their enemies might, out of malice to them, pray for their preferment.

There could be no end, if one did not ſtop till this theme had no more matter to furniſh. I will only ſay, nothing is more evident, than that the good of the nation hath been ſacrificed to the animoſities of the ſeveral contending parties; and without entering into the diſpute which of them are more or leſs in the right, it is pretty ſure, that whilſt theſe oppoſite ſets of angry men are playing at foot-ball, they will break all the windows, and do more hurt than their pretended zeal for the nation will ever make amends for.

In ſhort, a man ſo engaged is retained before the people take him for their counſil: he hath ſuch a reſpect for his party, that it is not adviſable for thoſe who would chuſe him to depend upon his profeſſions. All parties aſſuming ſuch a diſpenſing power, that by their ſovereign authority they cancel and diſſolve any act or promiſe that they do not afterwards approve.

Theſe things conſidered, thoſe who will chuſe ſuch men deſerve whatever followeth.

XVI. Pretenders to exorbitant merit in the late revolution, are not without objections againſt them, when they ſtand to ſerve in parliament. It would not only be a low, but a criminal kind of envy, to deny a diſtinguiſhing juſtice to men who have been inſtrumental and active, when the ſervice of their country required it. But there ought to be moderation in men's claims, or elſe it is out of the power of our poor iſland to ſatisfy them. It is true, ſervice of all kinds is grown much dearer, like labourers wages, which formerly occaſioned ſeveral ſtatutes to regulate them.

But now the men who only carried mortar to the building, when it is finiſhed think they are ill dealt with, if they are not made maſter-workmen.

They preſently cry out, the original contract is broken, if their merit is not rewarded, at their own rate too.

Some will think there never ought to be an end of their rewards; when indifferent judges would perhaps be puzzled to find out the beginning of their merit.

They bring in ſuch large bills, that they muſt be examined: ſome bounds muſt be put to men's pretenſions; elſe the nation, which is to pay the reckoning, will every way think it a ſcurvy thing to be undone, whether it be by being over-run by our enemies, or by the being exhauſted by our friends.

There ought therefore to be deductions where they are reaſonable, the better to juſtify the paying what remaineth.

For example, if any of theſe paſſionate

lovers of the proteſtant religion ſhould not think fit in their manner of living, to give the leaſt evidence of their morality, their claims upon that head might ſure be ſtruck off without any injuſtice to them.

If there are any who ſet down great ſums as a reward due to their zeal for reſcuing property from the jaws of arbitrary power; their pretenſions may fairly be rejected, if now they are ſo far from ſhewing a care and tenderneſs of the laws, that they look rather like counſil retained on the other ſide.

It is no leſs ſtrange, than I doubt it is true, that ſome men ſhould be ſo in love with their dear miſtreſs Old England, with all her wrinkles, as out of an heroic paſſion, to ſwim over to reſcue her from being raviſhed; and when they have done the feat, the firſt thing after enjoyment is, that they go about to ſtrangle her.

For the ſake of true love it is not fit that ſuch ungenteel gallants ſhould be too much encouraged; and their arrogance for having done well at firſt, will have no right to be excuſed, if their doing ſo ill at laſt doth not make them a little more modeſt.

True merit, like a river, the deeper it is, the leſs noiſe it makes.

The loud proclaimers of their own deſerts are not only to be ſuſpected for their truth, but the electors are to conſider that ſuch meritorious men lay an aſſeſſment upon thoſe that chuſe them.

The public taxes are already heavy enough without the addition of theſe private reckonings. It is therefore the ſafer way, not to employ men, who will expect more for their wages, than the miſtaken borough that ſendeth them up to parliament could be ſold for.

XVII. With all due regard to the nobleſt of callings, military officers are out of their true element when they are miſplaced in a houſe of commons.

Things in this world ought to be well ſuited. There are ſome appearances ſo unnatural, that men are convinced by them without any other argument.

The very habit in ſome caſes, recommendeth or giveth offence.

If the judges upon the bench ſhould, inſtead of their furs, which ſignify gravity, and beſpeak reſpect, be clothed like the jockeys at New Market, or wear jack-boots and Steenkirks; they would not in reality have leſs law; but mankind would be ſo ſtruck with this unuſual object, that it would be a great while before they could think it poſſible to receive juſtice from men ſo accoutered.

It is to ſome degree the ſame thing in this caſe; ſuch martial habits, blue-coats, red ſtockings, *etc.* make them look very unlike grave ſenators. One would almoſt ſwear they were creatures apart, and of a different ſpecies from the reſt of the body.

In former times, when only the reſiant ſhopkeeper was to repreſent his corporation (which by the way is the law ſtill at this day) the military looks of one of theſe ſons of Mars would have ſtared the quaking member down again to his borough.

Now the number of them is ſo increaſed, that the peaceable part of the houſe may lawfully ſwear they are in fear of their lives, from ſuch an awful appearance of men of war.

It maketh the room look like a guard-houſe by ſuch an ill-ſuited mixture. But this is only the out-ſide, the bark of the argument; the root goeth yet deeper againſt chuſing ſuch men, whoſe talents ought to be otherwiſe applied.

Their two capacities are ſo inconſiſtent, that mens undertaking to ſerve both the cures, will be the cauſe in a little time, that we ſhall neither have men of war, nor men of buſineſs, good in their ſeveral kinds.

An officer is to give up his liberty to obey orders; and it is neceſſarily incident to his calling that he ſhould do ſo.

A member of parliament is originally to be tender of his own liberty, that other men may the better truſt him with theirs.

An officer is to enable himſelf by his courage, improved by ſkill and experience, to ſupport the laws (if invaded) when they are made; but he is not ſuppoſed to be at leiſure enough to underſtand how they ſhould be made.

A member of parliament is to fill his thoughts with what may beſt conduce to the civil adminiſtration; which is enough to take up the whole man, let him be never ſo much raiſed above the ordinary level.

Theſe two oppoſite qualifications, being placed in one man, make him ſuch an ambiguous divided creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is beſt to keep men within their proper ſphere; few men have underſtanding enough exactly to fill even one narrow circle, fewer are able to fill two; eſpecially when they are both of ſo great compaſs, and that they are ſo contrary in their own natures.

The wages he hath as a member, and thoſe he receiveth as an officer, are paid for ſervices that are very differing; and in the doubt which of them ſhould be preferably performed, it is likely the greater ſalary may direct him, without the further inducements of complying moſt, where he may expect moſt advantage by it.

In ſhort, if his dependence is not very great, it will make him a ſcurvy officer; if it is great, it will make him a ſcurvier member.

XVIII. Men, under the ſcandal of being thought private penſioners, are too fair a mark to eſcape being conſidered, in reference to the point in queſtion.

In caſe of plain evidence, it is not to be ſuppoſed poſſible, that men convicted of ſuch a crime ſhould ever again be elected.

The difficulty is in determining what is to be done in caſe of ſuſpicion.

There are ſuſpicions ſo well grounded, that they may pretend to have the force of proofs, provided the penalty goeth only to the forbearing to truſt, but not extending it ſo far as to puniſh.

There muſt be ſome things plain and expreſs to juſtify the latter, but circumſtances may be ſufficient for the former: as where men have had ſuch ſudden cures of their ill-humours and oppoſition to the court, that it is out of the way of ordinary methods of recovery from ſuch diſtempers, which have a much ſlower progreſs; it muſt naturally be imputed to ſome ſpecific that maketh ſuch a quick alteration of the whole maſs of blood.

Where men have raiſed their way of living, without any viſible means to ſupport them in it, a ſuſpicion is juſtified, even by the example of the law, which in caſes of this kind, though of an inferior nature, doth, upon this foundation, not only raiſe inferences, but inflict puniſhments.

Where men are immoral, and ſcandalous in their lives, and diſpenſe familiarly with the rules by which the world is governed, for the better preſerving the bonds of human ſociety; it muſt be a confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impoſſible for ſuch men to yield to a temptation well offered and purſued; when, the truth is, the habit of ſuch *bons vivants*, which is the faſhionable word, maketh a ſuſpicion ſo likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there ſhould be nothing but the general report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common fame is the only liar that deſerveth to have ſome reſpect ſtill reſerved to it; though ſhe telleth many an untruth, ſhe often hits right, and moſt eſpecially when ſhe ſpeaketh ill of men.

Her credit hath ſometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the diveſting men of any thing of which they were poſſeſſed, without more expreſs evidence to juſtify ſuch a proceeding.

If there was a doubt whether there ever was any corruption of this kind, it would alter the queſtion; but ſure that will not bear the being controverted.

We are told, that Charles the Vth ſent over into England 1200000 crowns to be diſtributed amongſt the leading men, to encourage them to carry on elections:

Here was the proteſtant religion to be bought out for a valuable conſideration according to law, though not according to goſpel, which exalteth it above any price that can be ſet upon it.

Now, except we had reaſon to believe that the virtue of the world is improved ſince that time, we can as little doubt that ſuch temptations may be offered, as that they may be received.

It will be owned, that there is to be a great tenderneſs in ſuſpecting; but it muſt be allowed at the ſame time, that there ought not to be leſs in truſting, where the people are ſo much concerned; eſpecially, when the penalty upon the party ſuſpected goeth no further than a ſuſpenſion of that confidence, which it is neceſſary to have in thoſe who are to repreſent the nation in parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a caution againſt admitting men to be choſen, who have places of any value.

There needeth the leſs to be ſaid upon this article, the truth of the propoſition being ſupported by ſuch plain arguments.

Sure no man hath ſuch a plentiful ſpring of thought, as that all, that floweth from it, is too much to be applied to the buſineſs of parliament.

It is not leſs ſure, that a member of parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the rule, that no man ſhould ſerve two maſters.

It doth ſo ſplit a man's thoughts, that no man can know how to make a fitting diſtribution of them to two ſuch differing capacities.

It expoſeth men to be ſuſpected and tempted, more than is convenient for the public ſervice, or for the mutual good opinion of one another, which there ought to be in ſuch an aſſembly.

It either giveth a real dependence upon the government, which is inconſiſtent with the neceſſity there is, that a member of parliament ſhould be diſengaged; or at leaſt it hath the appearance of it, which maketh them not look like freemen, though they ſhould have virtue enough to be ſo.

More reaſons would leſſen the weight of this laſt, which is, that a bill to this effect, commonly called the *ſelf-denying bill*, paſſed even this laſt houſe of commons.

A greater demonſtration of the irreſiſtible ſtrength of truth cannot poſſibly be given: ſo that a copy of that bill in every county, or borough, would hardly fail of diſcouraging ſuch pretenders from ſtanding; or at leaſt it would prevent their ſucceſs, if their own modeſty ſhould not reſtrain them from attempting it.

XX. If diſtinctions may be made upon particular men, or remarks fixed upon their votes in parliament, they muſt be allowed in relation to thoſe gentlemen, who, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, thought fit to be againſt the *triennial bill.*

The liberty of opinion is the thing in the world that ought leaſt to be controuled, and eſpecially in parliament.

But as that is an undoubted aſſertion, it is not leſs ſo, that when men ſin againſt their own light, give a vote againſt their own thought, they muſt not plead privilege of parliament againſt the being arraigned for it by others, after they are convicted of it by themſelves.

There cannot be a man, who, in his definition of a houſe of commons, will ſtate it to be an aſſembly, that for the better redreſſing of grievances the people feel, and for the better furniſhing ſuch ſupplies as they can bear, is to continue, if the king ſo pleaſeth, for his whole reign.

This could be as little intended, as to throw all into one hand, and to renounce the claim to any liberty, but ſo much as the ſovereign authority would allow.

It deſtroyeth the end of parliaments; it maketh uſe of the letter of the law, to extinguiſh the life of it.

It is, in truth, ſome kind of diſparagement to ſo plain a thing, that ſo much has been ſaid and written upon it; and one may ſay, it is ſuch an affront to theſe gentlemens underſtandings, to cenſure this vote only as a miſtake, that, as the age goeth, it is leſs diſcredit to them to call it by its right name; and if that is rightly underſtood by thoſe who are to chuſe them, I ſuppoſe they will let them exerciſe their liberty of conſcience at home, and not make men their truſtees, who in this ſolemn inſtance have ſuch an unwillingneſs to ſurrender.

It muſt be owned, that this bill hath met with very hard fortune; and yet that doth not in the leaſt diminiſh the value of it.

It had in it ſuch a root of life, that it might be ſaid, it was not dead, but ſleeped; and we ſee that, the laſt ſeſſion, it was revived and animated by the royal aſſent, when once fully informed of the conſequence, as well as of the juſtice of it.

In the mean time, after having told my opinion, who ought not to be choſen;

If I ſhould be aſked, who ought to be? my anſwer muſt be, chuſe Engliſhmen; and when I have ſaid that, to deal honeſtly, I will not undertake that they are eaſy to be found.

A
ROUGH DRAUGHT
OF A
NEW MODEL
AT SEA,
1694.

A ROUGH DRAUGHT OF A New Model at SEA, 1694.

I WILL make no other introduction to the following diſcourſe, than that as the importance of our being ſtrong at ſea was ever very great, ſo in our preſent circumſtances it is grown to be much greater; becauſe, as formerly our force of ſhipping contributed greatly to our trade and ſafety; ſo now it is become indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our very being.

It may be ſaid now to England, Martha, Martha, thou art buſy about many things; but one thing is neceſſary to the queſtion, What ſhall we do to be ſaved in this world? There is no other anſwer but this, look to your moat.

The firſt article of an Engliſhman's

political creed muſt be, that he believeth in the ſea, *etc.* without that there needed no general council to pronounce him capable of ſalvation here.

We are in an iſland, confined to it by God Almighty, not as a penalty, but a grace, and one of the greateſt that can be given to mankind. Happy confinement! that has made us free, rich, and quiet; a fair portion in this world, and very well worth the preſerving; a figure that ever hath been envied, and could never be imitated by our neighbours. Our ſituation hath made greatneſs abroad by land-conqueſts unnatural things to us. It is true, we made excurſions, and glorious ones too, which make our names great in hiſtory, but they did not laſt.

Admit the Engliſh to be giants in courage, yet they muſt not hope to ſucceed in making war againſt heaven, which ſeemeth to have enjoined them to acquieſce in being happy within their own circle. It is no paradox to ſay, that England hath its root in the ſea, and a deep one too, from whence it ſendeth its branches into both the Indies. We may ſay further in our preſent caſe, that if allegiance is due to protection, ours to the ſea is due from that rule, ſince by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late ſuffered uſurpation of other methods, contrary to the homage we owe to that which muſt preſerve us, it is time now to reſtore the ſea to its right; and as there is no repentance effectual without amendment, ſo there is not a moment to be loſt in their going about it.

It is not pretended to launch into ſuch a voluminous treatiſe, as to ſet down every thing to which ſo comprehenſive a ſubject might lead me; for as the ſea hath little leſs variety in it than the land, ſo the naval force of England extendeth itſelf into a great many branches, each of which are important enough to require a diſcourſe apart, and peculiarly applied to it. But there muſt be preference to ſome conſideration above others, when the weight of them is ſo viſibly ſuperior, that it cannot be conteſted. It is there, firſt, that the foundations are to be laid of our naval oeconomy: amongſt theſe, there is one article which in its own nature muſt be allowed to be the corner-ſtone of the building:

The choice of officers, with the diſcipline and encouragement belonging to them. Upon this head only, I ſhall then take the liberty to venture my opinion into the world, with a real ſubmiſſion to thoſe, who may offer any thing better for the advantage of the public.

The firſt queſtion then will be, Out of what ſort of men the officers of the fleet are to be choſen? And this immediately leadeth us to the preſent controverſy between the gentlemen and the tarpaulins.

The uſual objections on both ſides are too general to be relied upon. Partiality and common prejudices direct moſt mens opinions, without entering into the particular reaſons, which ought to be the ground of it. There is ſo much eaſe in acquieſcing in generals, that the ignorance of thoſe who cannot diſtinguiſh, and the largeneſs of thoſe who will not, maketh men very apt to decline the trouble of ſtricter enquiries, which they think too great a price for being in the right, let it be never ſo valuable.

This maketh them judge in the lump, and either let their opinions ſwim along with the ſtream of the world, or give them up wholly to be directed by ſucceſs. The effect of this is, that they change their minds upon every preſent uneaſineſs, wanting a ſteady foundation upon which their judgment ſhould be formed. This is a pearching upon the twigs of things, and not going to the root.

But ſure the matter in queſtion deſerveth to be examined in another manner, ſince ſo much dependeth upon it.

To ſtate the thing impartially, it muſt be owned that it ſeemeth to lie faireſt for the tarpaulin: it giveth an impreſſion that muſt have ſo much weight as to make a man's opinion lean very much on that ſide; it carrieth ſo much authority with it, ſeemeth to be ſo unqueſtionable, that thoſe are fitteſt to command at ſea, who have not only made it their calling, but their element; that there muſt naturally be a prejudice to any thing that can be ſaid againſt it. There muſt therefore be ſome reaſon extraordinary to ſupport the argument on the other ſide, or elſe the gentlemen could never enter the liſts againſt ſuch a violent objection, which ſeemeth not to be reſiſted. I will introduce my argument with an aſſertion, which as I take to be true almoſt in all caſes, ſo it is neceſſary to be explained and enforced in this. The aſſertion is, that there is hardly a ſingle propoſition to be made, which is not deceitful, and the tying our reaſon too cloſe to it may in many caſes be deſtructive. Circumſtances muſt come in, and are to be made a part of the matter of which we are to judge; poſitive deciſions are always dangerous, more eſpecially in politics. A man, who will be maſter of an argument, muſt do like a ſkilful general, who ſendeth ſcouts on all ſides, to ſee whether there may not be an enemy. So he muſt look round to ſee what objections can be made, and not go on in a ſtraight line, which is the ready way to lead him into a miſtake.

Before then that we conclude what ſort of men are fitteſt to command at ſea, a principle is to be laid down, that there is a differing conſideration to be had of ſuch a ſubject-matter, as is in itſelf diſtinct and independent, and of ſuch a one as being a limb of a body, or a wheel of a frame, there is a neceſſity of ſuiting it to the reſt, and preſerving the harmony of the whole. A man muſt not in that caſe reſtrain himſelf to the ſeparate conſideration of that ſingle part, but muſt take care it may fall in and agree with the ſhape of the whole creature, of which it is a member. According to this propoſition, which I take to be indiſputable, it will not, I hope, appear an affectation, or an extravagant fit of unſeaſonable politics, if, before I enter into the particular ſtate of the preſent queſtion, I ſay ſomething of the government of England, and make that the ground-work of what ſort of men are moſt proper to be made uſe of to command at ſea.

The forms of government, to which England muſt be ſubjected, are either abſolute monarchy, a commonwealth, or a mixt monarchy, as it is now; with thoſe natural alterations that the exigency of affairs may from time to time ſuggeſt. As to abſolute monarchy, I will not allow myſelf to be tranſported into ſuch invectives, as are generally made againſt it; neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating ſtile of calling every thing ſlavery, that reſtraineth men in any part of their freedom: one may diſcern in this, as in moſt other things, the good and bad of it. We ſee by too near an inſtance, what France doth by it; it doth not only ſtruggle with the reſt of Chriſtendom, but is in a fair way of giving law to it.

This is owing in great meaſure to a deſpotic and undivided power; the uncontroulable authority of the directive councils maketh every thing move without diſorder or oppoſition, which muſt give an advantage, that is plain enough of itſelf, without being proved by the melancholy experience we have of it at this time.

I ſee and admire this; yet I conſider at the ſame time, that all things of this kind are comparative; that as, on one ſide, without government men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a nation be ſecure, or preſerve itſelf in general; ſo, on the other ſide, the end of government being, that mankind ſhould live in ſome competent ſtate of freedom, it is very unnatural to have the end deſtroyed by the means that were originally made uſe of to attain it. In this reſpect, ſomething is to be ventured, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a precarious ſtate of life, as would make it a burden to a reaſonable creature; and therefore, after I have owned the advantages, in ſome kind, of an unlimited government; yet, while they are attended with ſo many other diſcouraging circumſtances, I cannot think but that they may be bought too dear; and if it ſhould be ſo, that it is not poſſible for a ſtate to be great and glorious, unleſs the ſubjects are wretchedly miſerable. I am not aſhamed to own my low-ſpirited frailty, in preferring ſuch a model of government, as may agree with the reaſonable enjoyment of a free people, before ſuch a one, by which empire is to be extended at ſuch an unnatural price. Beſides, whatever mens opinions may be one way or another in the general queſtion, there is an argument in our caſe that ſhutteth the door to any anſwer to it; *viz.* we cannot ſubſiſt under a deſpotic power, our very being would be deſtroyed by it: for we are to conſider, we are a very little ſpot in the map of the world, and make a great figure only by trade, which is the creature of liberty; one deſtroyed, the other falleth to the ground by a natural conſequence, that will not admit a diſpute. If we would be meaſured by our acres, we are poor inconſiderable people; we are exalted above our natural bounds, by our good laws, and our excellent conſtitution. By this we are not only happy at home, but conſiderable abroad. Our ſituation, our humour, our trade, do all concur to ſtrengthen this argument. So that all other reaſons muſt give place to ſuch a one as maketh it out, that there is no mean between a free nation and no nation.

We are no more a people, nor England can no longer keep its name, from the moment that our liberties are extinguiſhed; the vital ſtrength that ſhould ſupport us being withdrawn, we ſhould then be no more than the carcaſs of a nation, with no other ſecurity than that of contempt; and to ſubſiſt upon no other tenure, than that we ſhould be below the giving temptation to our ſtronger neighbours to devour us. In my judgment, therefore, there is ſuch a ſhort deciſion to be made upon this ſubject, that in relation to England, an abſolute monarchy is as unreaſonable a thing to be wiſhed, as I hope it will be impoſſible to be obtained.

It muſt be conſidered, in the next place, whether England is likely to be turned into a commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the ſhape of the next revolution, much more at this time would it be inexcuſably arrogant to undertake it. Who can foreſee whether it will be from without, or from within, or from both? whether with or without the concurrence of the people? whether regularly produced, or violently impoſed? I ſhall not therefore magiſterially declare it impoſſible, that a commonwealth ſhould be ſettled here; but I may give my humble opinion, that according to all appearances, it is very improbable.

I will firſt lay it down, for a principle, that it is not a ſound way of arguing to ſay, that if it can be made out, that the form of a commonwealth will beſt ſuit with the intereſt of the nation, it muſt for that reaſon of neceſſity prevail.

I will not deny, but that intereſt will not lie, is a right maxim, when-ever it is ſure to be underſtood; elſe one had as good affirm, that no man in particular, nor mankind in general, can ever be miſtaken. A nation is a great while before they can ſee, and generally they muſt feel firſt before their ſight is quite cleared. This maketh it ſo long before they can ſee their intereſt, that for the moſt part it is too late for them to purſue it: if men muſt be ſuppoſed always to follow their true intereſt, it muſt be meant of a new manufactory of mankind, by God Almighty; there muſt be ſome new clay, the old ſtuff never yet made any ſuch infallible creature.

This being premiſed, it is to be enquired, whether inſtead of inclination, or a leaning towards a commonwealth, there is not in England a general diſlike to it; if this be ſo, as I take it to be, by a very great diſparity in numbers; it will be in vain to diſpute the reaſon, whilſt humour is againſt it. Allowing the weight that is due to the argument, which may be alleged for it; yet, if the herd is againſt it, the going about to convince them would have no other effect, than to ſhew, that nothing can be more impertinent than good reaſons, when they are miſplaced or ill-timed.

I muſt obſerve, that there muſt be ſome previous diſpoſitions in all great changes, to facilitate and to make way for them: I think it not at all abſurd, if I affirm, that ſuch reſolutions are ſeldom made at all, except by the general preparations of mens minds they are half made before, and it is plainly viſible that men go about them.

Though it ſeemeth to me that the argument alone maketh all others unneceſſary, yet I muſt take notice, that beſides what hath been ſaid upon this ſubject, there are certain preliminaries to the firſt building a commonwealth. Some materials abſolutely neceſſary for the carrying on ſuch a fabric, which at preſent are wanting amongſt us; I mean virtue, morality, diligence, or at leaſt hypocriſy. Now this age is ſo plain-dealing, as not to diſſemble, ſo far as to an outward pretence of qualities, which ſeem at preſent ſo unfaſhionable, and under ſo much diſcountenance.

From whence we may draw a plain and natural inference, that a commonwealth is not fit for us, becauſe we are not fit for a commonwealth.

This being granted, the ſuppoſition of

this form of government of England, with all its conſequences as to the preſent queſtion, muſt be excluded, and abſolute monarchy having been ſo too by the reaſons at once alleged, it will without further examination fall to a mixt government, as we now are. I will not ſay, that there is never to be any alteration; the conſtitution of the ſeveral parts, that concur to make up the frame of the preſent government, may be altered in many things, in ſome for the better, and in others perhaps for the worſe, according as circumſtances ſhall ariſe to induce a change; and as paſſion and intereſt ſhall have more or leſs influence upon the public councils; but ſtill, if it remaineth in the whole ſo far a mixt monarchy, that there ſhall be a reſtraint upon the prince, as to the exerciſe of a deſpotic power, it is enough to make it a ground-work for the preſent queſtion. It appeareth then, that a bounded monarchy is that kind of government which will moſt probably prevail and continue in England; from whence it muſt follow (as hath been hinted before) that every conſiderable part ought to be ſo compoſed, as the better to conduce to the preſerving the harmony of the whole conſtitution. The navy is of ſo great importance, that it would be diſparaged by calling it leſs than the life and ſoul of government.

Therefore, to apply the argument to the ſubject we are upon; in caſe the officers be all tarpaulins, it would be in reality too great a tendency to a commonwealth; ſuch a part of the conſtitution, being democratically diſpoſed, may be ſuſpected to endeavour to bring it into that ſhape, where the influence muſt be ſo ſtrong; and the ſuppoſition will be the more juſtifiable. In ſhort, if the maritime force, which is the only thing that can defend us, ſhould be wholly directed by the lower ſort of men, with an intire excluſion of the nobility and gentry; it will not be eaſy to anſwer the arguments ſupported by ſo great a probability, that ſuch a ſcheme would not only lean towards a democracy, but directly lead us into it.

Let us now examine the contrary propoſition, *viz. that all officers ſhould be gentlemen.*

Here the objection lieth ſo fair, of its introducing an arbitrary government, that it is as little to be anſwered in that reſpect, as the former is in the other. Gentlemen, in a general definition, will be ſuſpected to lie more than other men under the temptations of being made inſtruments of unlimited power; their relations, their way of living, their taſte of the entertainments of the court, inſpire an ambition that generally draweth their inclinations toward it, beſides the gratifying of their intereſts. Men of quality are often taken with the ornaments of government; the ſplendor dazzleth them ſo, as that their judgments are ſurprized by it; and there will be always ſome that have ſo little remorſe for invading other men's liberties, that it maketh them leſs ſolicitous to preſerve their own.

Theſe things throw them naturally into ſuch a dependence, as might give a dangerous bias; if they alone were in command at ſea, it would make that great wheel turn by an irregular motion; and inſtead of being the chief means of preſerving the whole frame, might come to be the chief inſtruments to diſcompoſe and diſſolve it.

The two further excluſive propoſitions being neceſſarily to be excluded in this queſtion, there remaineth no other expedient, neither can any other concluſion be drawn from the argument, as it hath been ſtated, than that there muſt be a mixture in the navy, of gentlemen and tarpaulins, as there is in the conſtitution of the government, of power and liberty, This mixture is not to be ſo rigorouſly defined, as to ſet down the exact proportion there is to be of each; the greater or leſſer number muſt be directed by circumſtances, of which the government is to judge, and which makes it improper to ſet ſuch bounds, as that upon no occaſion it ſhall on either ſide be leſſened or enlarged. It is poſſible, the men of Wapping may think they are injured, by giving them any partners in the dominion of the ſea; they may take it unkindly to be joſtled in their own element by men of ſuch a different education, that they may be ſaid to be of another ſpecies; they will be apt to think it an uſurpation upon them, and notwithſtanding the inſtances that are againſt them, and which give a kind of preſcription on the other ſide, they will not eaſily acquieſce in what they conceive to be a hardſhip to them.

But I ſhall in a good meaſure reconcile myſelf to them by what follows; *viz.* The gentlemen ſhall not be capable of bearing office at ſea, except they be tarpaulins too; that is to ſay, except they are ſo trained up by a continued habit of living at ſea, that they may have a right to be admitted free denizens of Wapping. Upon this dependeth the whole matter; and indeed here lieth the difficulty, becauſe the gentlemen brought up under the connivance of a looſer diſcipline, and of an eaſier admittance, will take it heavily to be reduced within the fetters of ſuch a new model; and I conclude, they will be extremely averſe to that which they call an unreaſonable yoke upon them, that their original conſent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and which is more, that it is neceſſary for the preſervation of the whole that it ſhould be ſo; the government muſt be called in aid to ſuppreſs theſe firſt boilings of diſcontent; the rules muſt be impoſed with ſuch authority, and the execution of them muſt be ſo well ſupported, that by degrees their impatience will be ſubdued, and they will concur in an eſtabliſhment to which they will every day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the objections which are now thrown upon them, of ſetting up for maſters without having ever been apprentices; or at leaſt, without having ſerved out their time.

Mankind naturally ſwelleth againſt favour and partiality; their belief of their own merit maketh men object them to a proſperous competitor, even when there is no pretence for it; but when there is the leaſt handle offered, to be ſure it will be taken. So, in this caſe, when a gentleman is preferred at ſea, the tarpaulin is very apt to impute it to friend or favour: but if that gentleman hath before his preferment paſſed through all the ſteps which lead to it, that he ſmelleth as much of pitch and tar, as thoſe that were ſwadled in ſailcloth; his having an eſcutcheon will be ſo far from doing him harm, that it will ſet him upon the advantage-ground: it will draw a real reſpect to his quality when ſo ſupported, and give him an influence and authority infinitely ſuperior to that which the mere ſeamen can never pretend to.

When a gentleman hath learned how to obey, he will grow very much fitter to command; his own memory will adviſe him not to inflict too rigorous puniſhments. He will better reſiſt the temptations of authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wiſhed it might be gently exerciſed, when he was liable to the rigor of it.

When the undiſtinguiſhed diſcipline of a ſhip hath tamed the young maſterſhip, which is apt to ariſe from a gentleman's birth and education; he then groweth proud in the right place, and valueth himſelf firſt upon knowing his duty, and then upon doing it.

In plain Engliſh, men of quality in their ſeveral degrees muſt either reſtore themſelves to a better opinion, both for morality and diligence, or elſe quality itſelf will be in danger of being extinguiſhed.

The original gentleman is almoſt loſt in ſtrictneſs, when poſterity doth not ſtill further adorn by their virtue the eſcutcheon their anceſtors firſt got for them by their merit; they deſerve the penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that quality alone ſhould waft men up into places and employments, is as unreaſonable, as to think that a ſhip, becauſe it is carved and gilded, ſhould be fit to go to ſea without ſails or tackling. But when a gentleman maketh no other uſe of his quality, than to incite him the more to his duty, it will give ſuch a true and ſettled ſuperiority, as muſt deſtroy all competition from thoſe that are below him.

It is time now to go to the probationary qualifications of an officer at ſea: and I have ſome to offer, which I have digeſted in my thoughts, I hope impartially, that they may not be ſpeculative notions, but things eaſy and practicable, if the directing powers will give due countenance and encouragement to the execution of them. But whilſt I am going about to ſet them down, though this little eſſay was made to no other end, than to introduce them, I am, upon better recollection, induced to put a reſtraint upon myſelf, and rather retract the promiſe I made at the beginning, than by adviſing the particular methods, by which I conceive the good end that is aimed at may be obtained, to incur the imputation of the thing of the world, of which I would leaſt be guilty, which is of anticipating, by my private opinion, the judgment of the parliament, or ſeeming out of my ſlender ſtock of reaſon to dictate to the ſupreme wiſdom of the nation. They will, no doubt, conſider the preſent eſtabliſhments for diſcipline at ſea, which are many of them very good, and if well executed, might go a great way in the preſent queſtion. But I will not ſay they are ſo perfect, but that other may be added to make them more effectual, and that ſome more ſuplemental expedients may be neceſſary to complete what is yet defective: and whenever the parliament ſhall think fit to take this matter into their conſideration, I am ſure they will not want, for their direction, the auxiliary reaſons of any man without doors, much leſs of one, whoſe thoughts are ſo intirely and unaffectedly reſigned to whatever they ſhall determine in this, or any thing elſe relating to the public.

MAXIMS

OF

STATE.

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1. THAT a prince, who falleth out with laws, breaketh with his beſt friends.

2. That the exalting his own authority above his laws, is like letting in his enemy to ſurprize his guards. The laws are the only guards he can be ſure will never run away from him.

3. A prince that will ſay he can do no good, except he may do every thing, teacheth the people to ſay, they are ſlaves, if they muſt not do whatever they have a mind to.

4. That power and liberty are like heat and moiſture; where they are well mixt, every thing proſpers; where they are ſingle, they are deſtructive.

5. That arbitrary power is like moſt other things, that are very hard, they are alſo very apt to break.

6. That the profit of places ſhould be meaſured as they are more or leſs conducing to the public ſervice; and if buſineſs is more neceſſary than ſplendor, the inſtruments of it ought in proportion to be better paid; that the contrary method is as impertinent, as it would be to let the carving of a ſhip coſt more than all the reſt of it.

7. That where the leaſt uſeful part of the people have the moſt credit with the prince, men will conclude, that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.

8. That an extravagant gift to one man, raiſeth the market to every body elſe; ſo that in conſequence, the unlimited bounty of an unthinking prince maketh him a beggar, let him have never ſo much money.

9. That if ordinary beggars are whipped, the daily beggars in fine clothes (out of a proportionable reſpect to their quality) ought to be hanged.

10. That pride is as loud a beggar as want, and a great deal more ſaucy.

11. That a prince, who will give more to importunity than merit, had as good ſet out a proclamation to all his loving ſubjects, forbidding them to do well, upon the penalty of being undone by it.

12. That a wiſe prince will not oblige his

courtiers, who are birds of prey, ſo as to diſoblige his people, who are beaſts of burden.

13. That it is ſafer for a prince to judge of men by what they do to one another, than that they do to him.

14. That it is a groſs miſtake to think, that a knave, between man and man, can be honeſt to a king, whom of all other men generally they make the leaſt ſcruple to deceive.

15. That a prince, who can ever truſt the man that hath once deceived him, loſeth the right of being faithfully dealt with by any other perſon.

16. That it is not poſſible for a prince to find out ſuch an honeſt knave, as will let no-body elſe cheat him.

17. That if a prince does not ſhew an averſion to knaves, there will be an inference that will be very natural, let it be never ſo unmannerly.

18. That a prince who followeth his own opinion too ſoon, is in danger of repenting it too late.

19. That it is leſs dangerous for a prince to mind too much what the people ſay, than too little.

20. That the prince is to take care that

the greater part of the people may not be angry at the ſame time; for though the firſt beginning of their ill-humour ſhould be againſt one another, yet if not ſtopt, it will naturally end in anger againſt him.

21. That if princes would reflect how much they are in the power of their miniſters, they would be more circumſpect in the choice of them.

22. That a wiſe prince will ſupport good ſervants againſt mens anger, and not ſupport ill ones againſt their complaint.

23. That parties in a ſtate generally, like free-booters, hang out falſe colours; the pretence is the public good; the real buſineſs is, to catch prizes; like the Tartars, where-ever they ſucceed, inſtead of improving their victory, they preſently fall upon the baggage.

24. That a prince may play ſo long between two parties, that they may in time join together, and be in earneſt with him.

25. That there is more dignity in open violence, than in the unſkilful cunning of a prince, who goeth about to impoſe upon the people.

26. That the people will ever ſuſpect the remedies for the diſeaſes of the ſtate, where

they are wholly excluded from ſeeing how they are prepared.

27. That changing hands without changing meaſures, is as if a drunkard in a dropſy ſhould change his doctors and not his diet.

28. That a prince is to watch that his reaſon may not be ſo ſubdued by his nature, as not to be ſo much a man of peace, as to be a jeſt in an army; nor ſo much a man of war, as to be out of his element in his council.

29. That a man, who cannot mind his own buſineſs, is not to be truſted with the king's.

30. That quality alone ſhould only ſerve to make a ſhew in the embroidered part of the government; but that ignorance, though never ſo well-born, ſhould never be admitted to ſpoil the public buſineſs.

31. That he, who thinks his place below him, will certainly be below his place.

32. That when a prince's example ceaſeth to have the force of a law, it is a ſure ſign that his power is waſting, and that there is but little diſtance between mens neglecting to imitate, and their refuſing to obey.

33. That a people may let a king fall, yet ſtill remain a people; but if a king let his people ſlip from him, he is no longer king.

A LETTER ſent by his Lordſhip to CHARLES COTTON, Eſq; upon his new tranſlation and dedication of Montaigne's Eſſays.

SIR,

I HAVE too long delayed my thanks to you for giving me ſuch an obliging evidence of your rememberance: that alone would have been a welcome preſent, but when joined with the book in the world I am the beſt entertained with, it raiſeth a ſtrong deſire in me to be better known, where I am ſure to be ſo much pleaſed. I have till now thought wit could not be tranſlated, and do ſtill retain ſo much of that opinion, that I believe it impoſſible, except by one whoſe genius cometh up to that of the author. You have ſo kept the original ſtrength of his thought, that it almoſt tempts a man to believe the tranſmigration of ſouls, and that his being uſed to hills, is come into the moor-lands to reward us here in England, for doing him more right than his country will afford him. He hath by your means mended his firſt edition: to tranſplant and make him ours, is not only a valuable acquiſition to us, but a juſt cenſure of the critical impertinence of thoſe French ſcribblers, who have taken pains to make little cavils and exceptions, to leſſen the reputation of this great man, whom nature hath made too big to confine himſelf to the exactneſs of a ſtudied ſtile. He let his mind have its full flight, and ſheweth by a generous kind of negligence that he did not write for praiſe, but to give to the world a true picture of himſelf and of mankind. He ſcorned affected periods, or to pleaſe the miſtaken reader with an empty chime of words. He hath no affectation to ſet himſelf out, and dependeth wholly upon the natural force of what is his own, and the excellent application of what he borroweth.

You ſee, Sir, I have kindneſs enough for Monſieur de Montaigne to be your rival; but no-body can pretend to be in equal competition with you: I do willingly yield, which is no ſmall matter for a man to do, to a more proſperous lover; and if you will repay this piece of juſtice with another, pray believe, that he, who can tranſlate ſuch an author without doing him wrong, muſt not only make me glad, but proud of being his

Very humble ſervant.

HALIFAX.

A CHARACTER of The late Biſhop BURNET.

DR. BURNET is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean, he muſt either be railed at or admired. He has a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore, the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may in ſome things require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other mens faults, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to acknowlege his own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries have had no other effect, than the ſetting his good-nature in ſo much a better light; ſince his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe, that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his abundance; and by a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſoured by it: the ſoil is not forced, every thing grows, and brings forth without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty, his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of his calling, are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence, or that from a principle of ſelf-preſervation they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them.

THE END.